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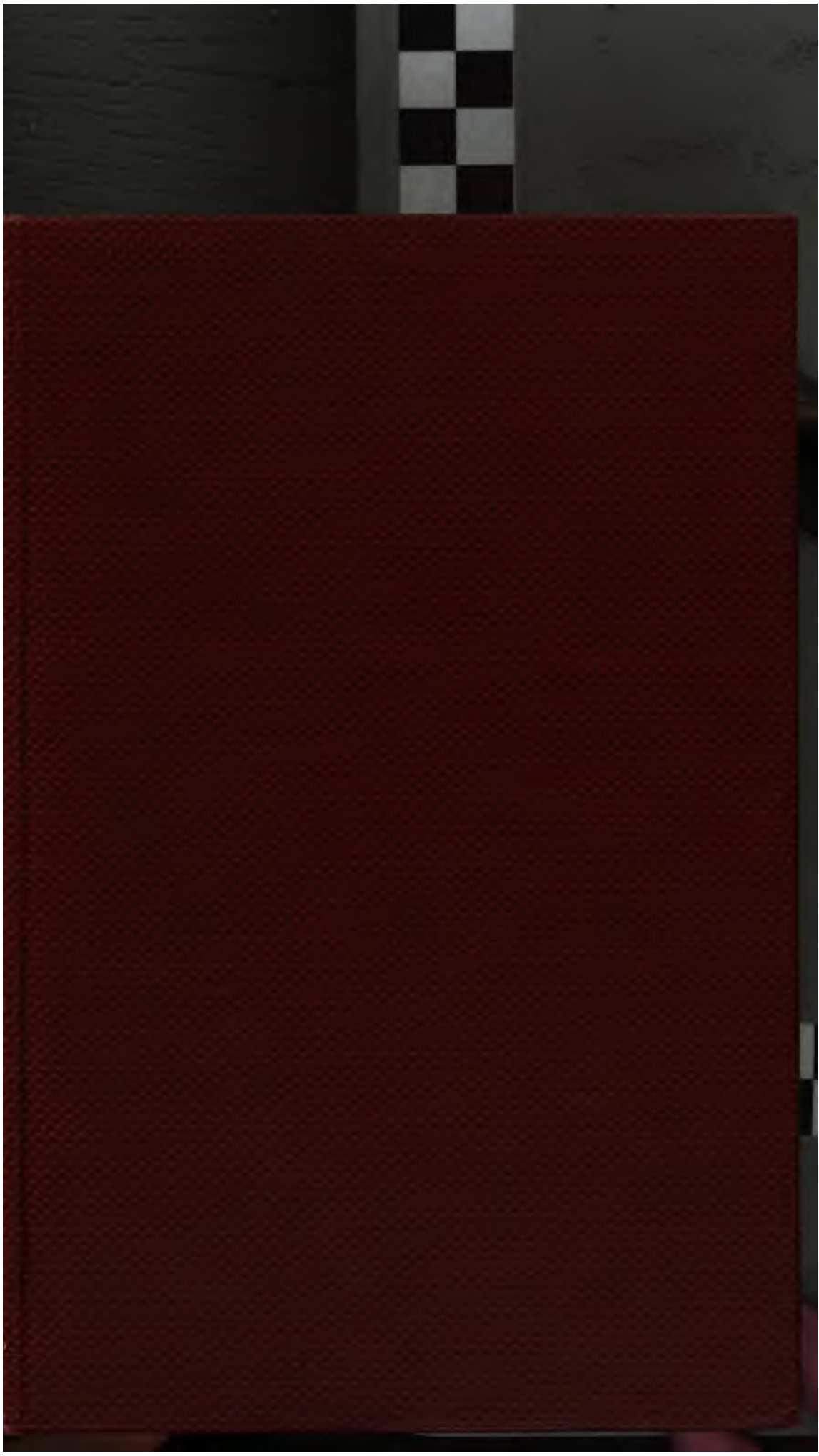

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A CRITIQUE AND BIOGRAPHY
BY
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VOLUME XXXI

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1904

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VOLTAIRE

ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 742

TO

HENRY VII, 1313

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

VOLTAIRE spent a happy month in 1753 as the guest of the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, who expressed regret that there was no popular history of the German Empire, such as might intensify her son's interest in the deeds of his ancestors. The wish was accepted as a command by the courtly guest, who forthwith began the remarkable compendium of historical facts, sketches, criticisms, and cogent reflections which form these "Annals." "The world abounds with troubles and with crimes (he wrote to the Duchess), and history is no other than a picture of the outrages and distress of mankind." The popularity of his "Age of Louis XIV." led to the unauthorized issue of three editions of the "Annals" within a month of its appearance, from which he not only received no profit, but probably sustained loss.

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ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

FROM THE TIME OF

CHARLEMAGNE.

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the revolutions which have changed the face of the earth, that alone which transferred the empire of the Romans to Charlemagne seems to have been just, if the word "just" may be pronounced of events which partook so much of violence. Charlemagne was actually called to the empire by the voice of the Roman people, whom he had at once saved from the tyranny of the Lombards and the negligence of the eastern emperors.

This is the great epoch of the western nations; at this time a new order of government began, the foundation of the temporal power of the Church; for no bishop in the East had ever been a prince, or possessed any of the rights of royalty. This new Roman empire bore no resemblance to that of the first Cæsars. In these annals will be seen the true nature of this empire, how the Roman pontiffs acquired that temporal power with which they have been so much reproached; how so many western

bishops, especially those of Germany, erected themselves into sovereigns; and in what manner the Roman people struggled to preserve their liberty between the emperors and popes who disputed with one another the dominion of Rome.

All the West, since the fifth century, was either barbarous or desolate; so many nations, formerly subdued by the ancient Romans, had at least lived till the fifth century in a state of happy subjection. It is a singular example in all ages, that conquerors should have built for the conquered those vast baths, amphitheatres, and highways, which no nation since those times has even presumed to imitate; there was in effect but one people; the Latin language, in the time of Theodosius, was spoken from Cadiz to the Euphrates; trade was carried on from Rome to Trier and Alexandria with more ease than many provinces now find in trafficking with their next neighbors; even the tributes, though burdensome, were much less intolerable than since that time, when the people are obliged to pay for the luxury, and undergo the violence of so many particular masters. Let us only compare the state of Paris, while governed by Julian, the philosopher, with its situation a hundred and fifty years after. Let us consider Trier, the largest city of the Gauls, in the time of Theodosius, when it was called a second Rome, and then observe the state of that city after the inundation of the Barbarians. Autun, under Constantine, contained five and twenty thousand

masters of families; Arles was still more populous. The Barbarians brought along with them devastation, poverty, and ignorance. The Franks were of the number of those famished and ferocious people, who ran to the pillage of the empire. They subsisted upon rapine and theft, although the country in which they settled was very fair and fertile. They did not know how to cultivate the lands. That country is marked in an ancient chart still preserved at Venice. There we see the Franks settled from the mouth of the Main as far as Friesland, and in part of Westphalia, the *Franci seu Chamavi.* It is by means of the ancient Romans, and them only, that we have a distinct notion of our own origin. The Franks then were part of those people called Saxons, who inhabited Westphalia; and when Charlemagne made war upon them three hundred years after, he exterminated the descendants of his own ancestors.

Those tribes of Franks, of which the Salians were the most illustrious, established themselves gradually in Gaul, not as allies of the Roman people, as generally supposed, but after having plundered the Roman colonies, Trier, Cologne, Mentz, Tongres, Tournay, Cambray; defeated indeed by Actius, one of the last supports of the Roman grandeur, but afterwards united with him, through necessity, against Attila; then again taking advantage of the anarchy to which those irruptions of the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards and Burgundians reduced the empire, they used against the

emperors themselves the rights and titles of masters of the militia, and the patriciate, which they had received from them. This empire was torn into shreds, and every horde of those fierce savages seized upon part as its own prey. One incontestable proof that those people were a long time in a state of barbarity is that they destroyed a great number of cities, and founded none.

All these dominions were of small importance till the end of the eighth century before the power of the caliphs, which threatened the whole earth.

The first successors of Mahomet possessed the right of the throne and of the altar, of the sword and of enthusiasm; their orders were so many oracles; their soldiers so many fanatics. In the year 651, they besieged Constantinople, destined to be one day Mussulman. The inevitable divisions among so many new chiefs, of so many peoples and armies, did not interfere with their conquests; the Mahometans, in that particular, resembled the ancient Romans, who subdued Asia Minor and the Gauls, even in the midst of their civil wars.

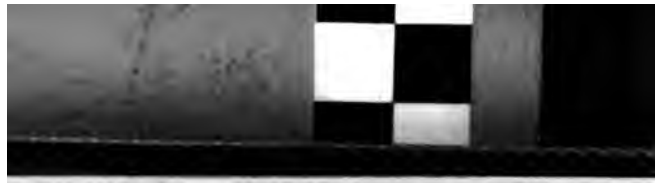
In 711, we see them passing from Egypt into Spain, which was easily subdued successively by the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals, and at last by those Arabs called Moors, who there established the kingdom of Cordova. The sultan of Egypt, indeed, shook off the yoke of the grand caliph of Bagdad; and Abd-er-Rahman, governor of conquered Spain, no longer acknowledged the Sultan of

Egypt; nevertheless, everything yielded to the arms of the Mussulmans.

This Abd-er-Rahman, grandson of the caliph Hesham, took the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal and Aragon; made a settlement in Languedoc; conquered Guienne and Poitou; and, if Charles Martel had not deprived him of his conquests and his life, France would have been a Mahometan province.

As the Mahometans increased in power, they improved in politeness. Those caliphs, who were always acknowledged as the sovereigns of religion by such as received their orders from afar, finding themselves at their ease in their new Babylon, revived the arts in that capital.

Haroun-al-Raschid, contemporary with Charlemagne, more illustrious than his predecessors, who caused himself to be respected even in Spain and at the river Indus, reanimated all the sciences, cultivated the agreeable and useful arts, invited and encouraged learned men, and saw politeness succeed barbarity through his vast dominions. Under him the Arabians, who had already adopted the Indian ciphers, carried them into Europe. The first rudiments of astronomy known in Germany and France were learned from the Arabians; the word "Almanac" is still a proof of this assertion. In a word, during the second century after Mahomet, the Christians of the West were obliged to go and take instructions from the Mussulmans.



The more Mahomet's empire flourished, the more Constantinople and Rome were abased. Rome had never recovered from that fatal stroke she received from Constantine, in his removing the seat of empire; the Romans were no longer animated by glory and patriotism. The inhabitants of that ancient capital had nothing more to hope from fortune. Courage became enervated, the arts sank into oblivion, and nothing was now seen in the abodes of the Scipios and Cæsars, but contests between the secular judges and the bishop. Taken, retaken, and sacked so often by the Barbarians, Rome still obeyed the emperors. After Justinian, a viceroy governed it under the name of "exarch;" but he no longer deigned to look upon it as the capital of Italy. He resided at Ravenna, and from there he sent his orders to the prefect of Rome. The emperors had nothing now remaining in Italy, but the country that extends from the boundaries of Tuscany to the extremities of Calabria. The Lombards were in possession of Piedmont, the Milanese, Mántua, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Bologna; these dominions composed the kingdom of Lombardy. Those Lombards are said to have come from Pannonia, where they had embraced Arianism, which was the prevailing religion. Having penetrated into Italy by Tyrol, there they settled, and confirmed their dominion by submitting to the Catholic religion. Rome, whose walls were demolished, and who had no other defence but the troops

of the exarch, was often menaced with subjection to the power of the Lombards. It was then so poor that the annual imposition levied by the exarch amounted to no more than a golden sol from every master of a family; and even this was a burdensome tax. It was like those barren and remote lands which are a charge to the owners.

The Roman diurnal of the seventh and eighth centuries, a precious monument, part of which is printed, shows, in the most authentic manner, what the sovereign pontiff was in those days. He was called The Vicar of Peter, Bishop of the City of Rome, as soon as he was elected by the citizens; the clergy in a body intimated his election to the exarch, in this form: "We entreat you who are charged with the imperial ministry, to order the consecration of our father and pastor." They likewise communicated the news of the election to the metropolitan of Ravenna, in these words: "St. Peter, we beseech thy holiness to obtain of our lord, the exarch, the ordination now depending." They were also obliged to send an account of it to the judges of Ravenna, whom they styled Your Eminences.

At that time the new pope, before his ordination, was obliged to pronounce two confessions of faith; and in the second he condemned among the heretics Pope Honorius I. because, at Constantinople, the said Honorius, bishop of Rome, was supposed to have acknowledged but one will in Jesus Christ.

There is a great distance from this to the tiara; but there is likewise a great difference between the first monk who preached on the banks of the Rhine and the electoral cap; as also between the first chief of the wandering Salians and a Roman emperor. All greatness is formed gradually, and the origin of everything is small and inconsiderable.

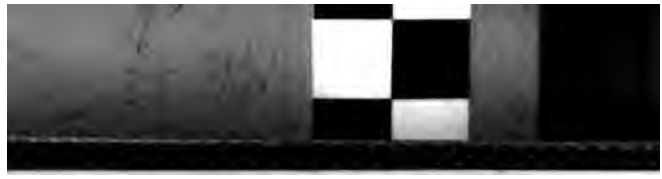
The pontiff of Rome established his greatness insensibly, during the abasement of the city: the Romans were poor, but the Church was not. Constantine had given, to the basilica of the Lateran only, above a thousand marks of gold, and about thirty thousand of silver, and assigned to it fourteen thousand sols of yearly revenue. The popes, who fed the poor, and sent missions through all the West, having had occasion for more considerable supplies, had obtained them without difficulty. The emperors, and even the Lombard king, had granted them lands; and they possessed, in the neighborhood of Rome, certain revenues and castles called The Justices of St. Peter. Several citizens eagerly strove to enrich, by donation or will, a church whose bishop was looked upon as the father of their country. The credit of the popes was greatly superior to their wealth. It was impossible to fail, in point of veneration, for an almost uninterrupted succession of pontiffs, who had consoled the Church, extended religion, and softened the manners of the Heruli, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Franks.

Although the Roman pontiffs, in the time of the

exarchs, extended their right of metropolitan no farther than the suburban towns, that is, over the towns subjected to the government of the prefect of Rome, nevertheless, they were often dignified with the appellation of Universal Pope, on account of the primacy and dignity of their fee. Gregory the Great refused that title, which, however, he merited by his virtues; and his successors extended their credit in the West; therefore we ought not to be surprised to find in the eighth century Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, the same who consecrated Pepin, express himself thus in the form of his oath: "I promise to St. Peter, and his vicar Gregory the Happy," etc.

At length, in process of time, the popes formed the design of delivering Rome at once from the Lombards, by whom it was incessantly threatened, and the Greek emperors, by whom it was so ill defended. The popes at that time perceived that which at other conjunctures would have been no other than a revolt or impotent sedition, might now become a revolution excusable from necessity, and respectable through success. This is the revolution which was begun under Pepin II., usurper of the throne of France, and completed by his son Charlemagne, at a time when everything was in confusion, and the face of Europe must have necessarily been changed.

The kingdom of France at that time extended from the Pyrenees and the Alps to the Rhine, the



Main and the Saale. Bavaria depended upon this vast kingdom. It was the king of France who bestowed that duchy when he was strong enough to give it away. This kingdom of the Franks, which had been almost always divided since the time of Clovis, and torn by intestine wars, was nothing but a vast, barbarous province of the ancient Roman empire, which Constantinople always reckoned among the rebellious states, though she treated with it as a powerful kingdom.

CHARLEMAGNE.

742 — Charlemagne, born April 10, near Aix-la-Chapelle, was the son of Pepin, mayor of the palace, duke of the Franks, and grandson of Charles Martel. All that we know of his mother is, that her name was Bertha; but we are not even precisely acquainted with the place of his birth. He was born during the session of the council of Germany, though thanks to the ignorance of those times, we know not where that famous council was held.

One half of the country, which is now called Germany, was idolatrous, from the banks of the Weser, and even of the Main and the Rhine, to the Baltic, and the other half Christian.

There were already bishops at Trier, Cologne, and Mentz, frontier cities, founded by the Romans, and instructed by the popes; but that country was

then called Austrasia, and belonged to the kingdom of the Franks.

One Willebrod, an Englishman, had, in the time of Charles Martel's father, gone to preach to the idolaters of Friesland what little Christianity he knew. There was, towards the end of the seventh century, a titular bishop of Westphalia who raised little children from the dead. Willebrod took the vain title of Bishop of Utrecht; and there he built a small church, which was destroyed by the pagan Frieslanders. At length, in the beginning of the eighth century, another Englishman, known afterwards by the name of Boniface, went and preached in Germany, and was looked upon as an apostle. The English were at that time the preceptors of the Germans; and it was to the popes that all those people, as well as the Gauls, owed the little learning and Christianity which they knew.

743 — A synod at Lestine in Hainault serves to show the manners of those times. There it was regulated, that those who had taken the effects of the Church, in order to maintain a war, should give a crown to the Church by way of farm. This regulation regarded the officers of Charles Martel and his son Pepin, who enjoyed during life the abbeys they had seized. It was then equally usual to endow monks, and to deprive them of their endowments.

Boniface, that apostle of Germany, founded the abbey of Fulda, in the county of Hesse. At first it was no more than a church covered with thatch and

surrounded with cabins, inhabited by some monks, who grubbed an ungrateful soil. It is now a principality; and no man can be a monk unless he is a gentleman; the abbot has been long a sovereign, and since the year 1753 a bishop.

744 — Carloman, uncle of Charlemagne, duke of Austrasia, reduced the Bavarian vassals, who were in rebellion against the king of France, and defeated the Saxons, of whom he wanted to make vassals also.

745 — At this time Boniface was bishop of Mentz. The dignity of metropolitan, hitherto attached to the see of Worms, is transferred to Mentz.

Carloman, brother of Pepin, abdicates the duchy of Austrasia; it was a powerful realm, which he governed under the name of Mayor of the Palace, while his brother Pepin ruled in western France; and Childeric, king of all France, could scarce command the servants of his own family. Carloman renounces his sovereignty to go and turn monk at Monte Cassino.

Historians still affirm that Pepin loved him tenderly; but, in all probability, he loved better to rule alone. The cloister was then the asylum of those who had too powerful competitors in the world.

747-748 — In most towns of France they renew the custom of the ancient Romans, known under the name of "patronage," or "clientship." The citizens chose patrons among the noblemen; and this circumstance alone proves that the people in Gaul were

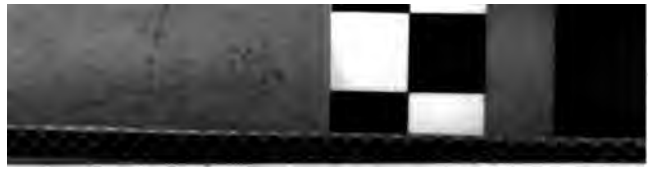
not divided, as it is pretended they were, into masters and slaves.

749 — Pepin at length undertakes what his father Charles Martel could not perform. He resolves to deprive the Merovingian race of the crown; and the first step he takes is to gain the apostle Boniface over to his party, together with several bishops, and at last Pope Zacharias himself.

750 — Pepin causes his king Hilderic or Childeric III. to be deposed and made a monk at St. Bertin, and seats himself on the throne of the Franks.

751 — Pepin resolves to subdue the people then called Saxons, extending from the neighborhood of the Main to the Cimbric Chersonesus, who had already conquered England. Pope Stephen III. demands the protection of Pepin against Luitprand, king of Lombardy, who wanted to make himself master of Rome. The emperor of Constantinople was too remote and too weak to succor him; and the first domestic of the king of France, now become usurper, was the only person who could give him protection.

754 — The first known action of Charlemagne was to go, by order of his father Pepin, and prostrate himself before Pope Stephen at St. Maurice in Valais. This was an eastern custom. People often kneeled before bishops, and these bishops bended the knee not only before emperors, but even before the governors of provinces, when these last came to take possession.



As for the custom of kissing feet, it was not yet introduced in the West. Diocletian was the first who exacted that mark of respect. Popes Adrian I. and Leo III. first arrogated to the pontificate that honor which Diocletian had assumed to the empire; after which, kings and emperors submitted like other people to that ceremony, in order to render the Roman religion the more venerable.

Pepin caused himself to be consecrated king of France, by the pope, in the month of August, in the abbey of St. Denis; he had already been consecrated by Boniface, but the hand of the pope rendered his usurpation the more respectable in the eyes of the people. Eginard, secretary to Charlemagne, says in express terms, that Hilderic was deposed by order of Pope Stephen. Pepin was the first European king who was consecrated. This ceremony was an imitation of the unction applied to the Hebrew kings: he, at the same time, took care to see his two sons, Charles and Carloman, consecrated. The pope, before he consecrated him king, absolved him of his perjury to his sovereign Hilderic; and, after the consecration, fulminated an excommunication against whosoever should at any time attempt to take the crown from the family of Pepin. Neither Hugh Capet nor Conrad has shown great respect to that excommunication. The new king, in recompense for the pope's complaisance, passes the Alps with his vassal, Thasillon, duke of Bavaria, besieges Astolphus in Pavia, and returns

the same year without success either in making war or peace.

755 — Scarce had Pepin repassed the Alps, when Astolphus besieges Rome. Pope Stephen conjures the new king of France to come to his relief. Nothing can be a more convincing proof of the simplicity of those ignorant times, than a letter which the pope caused to be written to the king of France in the name of St. Peter, as if it had come down from heaven; a simplicity, however, which did not exclude the frauds of policy and attempts of ambition.

Pepin delivers Rome, again besieges Pavia, makes himself master of the exarchate, and gives it — as they say — to the pope. This is the first title of the temporal power of the holy see, by which Pepin equally weakened the kings of Lombardy and the emperors of the East. This donation is very doubtful; for the archbishops of Ravenna at that time took the title of exarchs; consequently the bishops of Rome and Ravenna were resolved to aggrandize themselves. It is highly probable that Pepin gave some lands to the popes, and favored those in Italy who strengthened his dominions in France. If he really made that present to the popes, it is very clear that he gave away what did not belong to him; but he had also taken what was not his own. We find scarce any other source of the first rights. Time renders them legitimate.

756 — Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, goes upon

a mission among the Friesland idolaters, from whom he receives the crown of martyrdom: but, as historians say that he was martyred in his camp, and that abundance of the Frieslanders were killed, it is reasonable to believe that the missionaries were soldiers. Thasillon, duke of Bavaria, does homage for his duchy to the king of France, in the form of those homages which have been since called "*liegance.*" By this time there were great hereditary fiefs, and Bavaria was one of that number.

Pepin once more defeats the Saxons. All the wars of those people against the Franks seem to have been little more than the incursions of barbarians, who came by turns to carry off cattle and ravage the harvests. There was no place of strength, no policy, no formed design. This part of the world was still savage.

Pepin, by all his victories, gained no more than the payment of an old tribute of three hundred horses; to which were added five hundred cows. This was hardly worth the trouble of slaying so many thousand men.

758-760 — Didier, or Desiderius, successor of Astolphus, retakes the towns which Pepin gave to St. Peter; but Pepin was so formidable, that Didier is said to have restored them in consequence of his threats only. Hereditary vassalage began to be so effectually introduced, that the kings of France pretended to be lords paramount of the duchy of Aquitaine. Pepin, by force of arms, compels

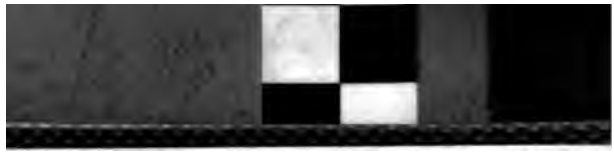
Geoffrey, duke of Aquitaine, to take the oath of fidelity to him in presence of the duke of Bavaria; so that he had two great sovereigns at his feet. We may easily perceive that these homages were no other than the submission of weakness to superior power.

762-763 — The duke of Bavaria, thinking himself strong enough, and seeing Pepin at a distance, revokes his homage; but, when the other is on the brink of making war upon him, renews his oath of fidelity,

766-767 — The erection of the bishopric of Salzburg. Pope Paul I. sends to the king, as a present, books, chanters, and a clock. Constantine Copronimus likewise sends to him an organ and some musicians. This would not be a fact worthy of history if it did not show how little the arts were known in that part of the world. At that time the Franks knew nothing but war, hunting, and feasting.

768 — The preceding years are barren of events, consequently happy for the people; for almost all the great events of history are public misfortunes. The duke of Aquitaine revokes his homage after the example of the duke of Bavaria. Pepin flies upon him, and reunites Aquitaine to the crown.

Pepin, surnamed the Short, died at Saintes, September 24, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Before his death he makes his will by word of mouth, and not by writing, in presence of the great officers of his house, his generals, and those who held exten-



sive lands for life. He divides his dominions between his two sons Charles and Carloman. After Pepin's death, the nobles modify his will. They gave to Charles, afterwards called Charlemagne, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Provence, and Neustria, which then extended from the Meuse to the Loire and the ocean. Carloman had Austrasia from Rheims to the extremities of Thuringia. It is plain that the kingdom of France at that time comprehended nearly one-half of Germany.

770 — Didier, king of the Lombards, offers his daughter Desiderata in marriage to Charles, who was already married: he espouses Desiderata, so it appears he had two wives at one time. This was not uncommon; Gregory de Tours says that the kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, and Chilperic had several wives.

771 — His brother Carloman died suddenly at the age of twenty: his widow flies into Italy with two princes, her children. This death and that flight do not absolutely prove that Charlemagne was resolved to reign alone, and entertained evil designs against his nephews; but neither do they prove that he deserved to have his festival celebrated as it is in Germany.

772 — Charles causes himself to be crowned king of Austrasia, and reunites all the vast realms of the Franks, without leaving anything to his nephews. Posterity, dazzled by the glare of his glory, seems to have forgotten that injustice. He repudiated his

wife, the daughter of Didier, in order to revenge himself for the asylum which the Lombard king had afforded to the widow of his brother Carloman.

He takes the field against the Saxons, and finds at their head a man worthy to fight against him; this was Wittikind, the greatest defender of the German liberty, next to Hermann, whom we call Arminius.

The king of France attacks him in that country which is now called the principality of Lippe. Those people were wretchedly armed; for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne, we see a most rigorous prohibition to sell cuirasses and helmets to the Saxons. The arms and discipline of the Franks could not fail to be victorious over ferocious courage. Charles cut in pieces the army of Wittikind, and takes the capital, called Erresburg. That capital was a number of huts surrounded with a ditch. The inhabitants are slaughtered. He demolishes the principal temple of the country, said to have been formerly dedicated to the god Tanfana, *the universal principle,* if ever those barbarians acknowledged a universal principle; but at that time dedicated to the god Irminful, a temple revered in Saxony, like that of Sion among the Jews. The priests were murdered upon the fragments of the idol which had been overthrown. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weser. All those districts submitted. Charlemagne resolved to bind them to his yoke with the tie of Christianity. While

he hastened to the other end of his dominions, and to other conquests, he left among them missionaries to persuade, and soldiers to compel them. Almost all the people who lived near the Weser found themselves in one year Christians and slaves.

773 — While the king of the Franks restrains the Saxons on the banks of the Weser, he is recalled to Italy. The quarrels between the Lombards and the pope still subsisted; and the king, in succoring the Church, might have made himself master of Italy, which was better worth his trouble than the countries of Bremen, Hanover, and Brunswick. He marched therefore against his father-in-law, Didier, who was then before Rome. His aim was not to avenge Rome, but to hinder Didier from accommodating matters with the pope, in order to restore to the two sons of Carloman the kingdom which was their due. He ran to attack his father-in-law, and cloaked his usurpation with piety. He was followed by seventy thousand men, regularly trained to war; an almost incredible circumstance in those times. Armies of one hundred and two hundred thousand men had been assembled before this period, but then they consisted of peasants, who retired to their harvest after a battle was lost or won. Charlemagne retained them longer under his standard, and this discipline greatly contributes to his victories.

774 — The French army besieges Pavia. The king goes to Rome, renews and augments the dona-

tions of Pepin, and with his own hand places a copy of it on the tomb, which, as they pretended, contained the ashes of St. Peter. Pope Adrian thanks him in panegyric verses of his own writing.

The "Tradition of Rome" says that Charles gave Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily; but surely he did not bestow any of these countries, which were not in his possession. But there is still extant a letter from Adrian to the Empress Irene, which proves that Charles gave some dominions which are not specified in the letter. "Charles, duke of the Franks and Patrician," said he, "hath given us provinces, and restored the towns which the perfidious Lombards detain from the Church," etc.

We find that Adrian still carefully husbanded his influence over the empire, in giving Charles the title of Duke and Patrician only, and seeking to fortify his possession with the name of restitution.

The king returns from Pavia. Didier surrenders himself, is made a monk, and sent to the abbey of Corbie, in France. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, who had destroyed the Roman power in Italy, and substituted their own laws in the room of those made by the emperors. Every king who had the misfortune to be dethroned became a monk in those days.

Charlemagne caused himself to be crowned king of Italy in Pavia, with a crown on which there was an iron circle, still preserved in the little town of Monza.

Justice was still administered in Rome in the name of the Greek emperor. Even the popes received from him the confirmation of their election; for though the emperor was deprived of the substance, he still retained the shadow of power. Charlemagne, like Pepin, assumed no other title but that of Patrician, which Theodoric and Attila had deigned to receive; so that the name of "Emperor," which originally signified no more than the general of an army, still implied the Master of the East and West. Unsubstantial as it was, they respected it, and even were afraid to usurp it. They affected no more than the term "Patrician," which formerly meant a Roman senator, and which at that time signified a lieutenant, independent of an emperor, without power.

Nevertheless, money was then coined at Rome in the name of Adrian; whence, what are we to conclude, but that the pope, delivered from the Lombards, and no longer obeying the emperors, was himself master in Rome? Certain it is, the Roman pontiffs, like the bishops of the Franks and Germans, seized the regal rights as soon as they were in their power; all authority seeks to augment itself; and for that reason only, nothing but the name of Charlemagne was stamped upon the new money coined at Rome in the year 800, when he was elected emperor by the pope and the Roman people.

775 — The second effort of the Saxons against Charlemagne, for the recovery of their liberty, which

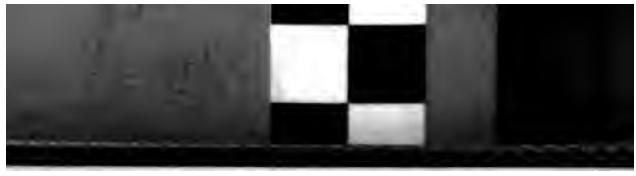
is called a revolt. They are again defeated in Westphalia; and, after abundance of blood had been shed, gave cattle and hostages, having nothing else to pay.

776 — An attempt of Adalgise, the son of Didier, to recover the kingdom of Lombardy. Pope Adrian construes it into a horrible conspiracy. Charles hastens to take vengeance; flies from Germany into Italy; beheads a duke of Friuli, who was an accomplice; and everything submits to his fortune.

During that very period, the Saxons return to Westphalia, and he returns to defeat them. They submit, and promise again to become Christians. Charles builds forts in their country, before any churches were built among them.

777 — He gives laws to the Saxons, and compels them to swear they will become slaves, should they ever cease to be Christians and submissive. At a grand Diet, held at Paderborn, in tents, a Mussulman emir, who commanded at Saragossa, came to conjure Charlemagne to support his rebellion against Abd-er-Rahman, king of Spain.

778 — Charles marches from Paderborn into Spain; espouses the cause of this emir; besieges and takes Pampeluna. We may observe that the spoils of the Saracens were divided between the king, his officers, and soldiers, according to the ancient custom of making war only for the sake of booty, and of dividing it equally among all those who had an equal share of the danger. But all that booty is



lost in repassing the Pyrenees. The rear-guard of Charlemagne is cut to pieces at Roncesvalles by the Arabians and Gascons. There, it is said, perished his nephew Orlando, so celebrated for his courage and incredible strength.

As the Saxons had recourse to arms while Charles was in Italy, so they take them up while he is in Spain. Wittikind, who had retired to the duke of Denmark, his father-in-law, returns to reanimate his countrymen: he reassembles them; finds in Bremen, the capital of the country which bears that name, a bishop, a church, and his Saxons in despair of being dragged to new altars: he expels the bishop, who has time to embark and get away. Charlemagne comes up with great expedition, and defeats Wittikind again.

780 — Victor on all hands, he sets out for Rome with one of his wives, called Ildegard, and two younger children, Pepin and Louis. Pope Adrian baptizes these two children, and consecrates Pepin king of Lombardy, and Louis king of Aquitaine. This Aquitaine had been erected into a kingdom for some time.

781-782 — The king of France keeps his court at Worms, Ratisbon, and Cuerci. There he is visited by Alcuin, archbishop of York. The king, who could scarce sign his own name, was resolved to make science flourish, because he would be great in everything. Peter de Pisa taught him a smattering of grammar. It is not surprising that the Italians

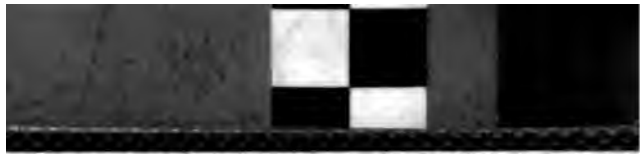
should instruct the Gauls and Germans; but it is very extraordinary that they should have always had occasion for Englishmen to learn that which at this day is not honored with the name of Science.

They held conference before the king, which may be called the origin of the academies, especially those of Italy, in which every academician assumed a new name. Charlemagne took the appellation of David, Alcuin, that of Albinus, and a young man called Ilgeberd, who wrote doggerel verses, boldly appropriated to himself the name of Homer.

783 — Meanwhile Wittikind, who did not learn grammar, raised an insurrection among the Saxons, and defeated the generals of Charles on the banks of the Weser. Charles comes to repair this loss. He is again victor over the Saxons, who lay down their arms before him: he commands them to deliver up Wittikind. They answer that he has escaped to Denmark. "His accomplices are still here," replied Charlemagne, and ordered four thousand five hundred to be butchered before his eyes. In this manner he prepared Saxony for the reception of Christianity.

784 — This massacre had the same effect as that produced a long time after by the massacre called St. Bartholomew in France. All the Saxons resumed their arms with fury and despair, and were joined by the Danes and neighboring nations.

785 — Charles marches against this multitude, with his son of the same name. He obtains a new



victory, and again imposes fruitless laws: establishing marquises or commanders of the militia upon the frontiers of his realms.

786 — Wittikind yields at length. He comes with a duke of Friesland, and submits to Charlemagne at Attigny on the Aisnes. Then the kingdom of France extended as far as Holstein. The king of France repairs again to Italy and rebuilds Florence; it is remarkable, that he is no sooner at one end of his dominions, than there are always revolts at the other; a sure sign that the king had not powerful bodies of troops on all his frontiers. The ancient Saxons joined the Bavarians; the king repasses the Alps.

787 — The empress Irene, who still governed the Greek Empire, at that time the only empire, had formed a powerful league against the king of France. It was composed of those very Saxons and Bavarians, and the Huns so famous heretofore under Attila, who inhabited, as now, the banks of the Danube and the Drave; nay, part of Italy itself had engaged in the association. Charles vanquished the Huns upon the Danube, and the whole was dissipated.

788-792 — During these four years of peace, he opened schools in the houses of bishops and in monasteries. The Roman chanting was established in the churches of France. At the Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle he instituted the Capitulary laws, which savor strongly of that barbarism that they were

meant to reform, and in which the nation had been long buried.

These that follow are the customs, manners, laws, and spirit which then prevailed.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS OBSERVED IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Provinces were governed and troops levied by dukes, some of whom were removable and others hereditary vassals, much in the same manner as the Turkish provinces are now governed by Beglerbeys. These dukes had been instituted in Italy by Diocletian. The counts, whose origin appears to have been in the time of Theodosius, commanded under the dukes, each assembling the troops in his own district. The farms, the towns, and villages furnished a number of soldiers proportioned to their power. Twelve farms found one horseman armed with casque and cuirass. The other soldiers were armed with nothing but a long square buckler, a battle-axe, a javelin, and sword. Those who used arrows were obliged to have at least a dozen in their quivers. The province that furnished the soldiery provided them with corn and provisions for six months. The king maintained them for the rest of the campaign. They were reviewed on the first of March and the first of May. It was usually at these seasons that the parliaments were held. In besieging towns they employed the ram, the balista, the tortoise, and almost all the machines of the Romans, for, of all

their arts, that of war alone subsisted, and *that* for their own ruin.

The noblemen called Barons, Leudes, Ricohombres, with their followers, composed what little cavalry was then to be seen in armies. The Mussulmans of Africa and Spain had a greater number of horse. It appears that afterwards they learned of them to cover their men and horses with iron, and fight with lances.

Charles had naval forces at the mouths of all the great rivers of his empire, from the Elbe to the Tiber. Before his time they were not known among the barbarians, and long after his death no such armaments were to be seen. By means of these warlike police which he maintained on all the coasts, he put a stop to those inundations of northern people who then exercised the trade of pirates. He restrained them within their own frozen climates; but, under his pusillanimous descendants, they deluged all Europe.

The general affairs were regulated in those assemblies which represented the nation, according to the custom of the ancient Romans, the Gauls, and people of the North. Under him, parliaments had no will but that of their master, who knew how to command and persuade.

He caused trade to flourish a little in his vast dominions, because he was master of the seas. Thus merchants from the coast of Tuscany went to trade at Constantinople among the Christians, and at the

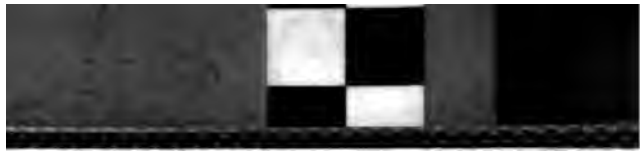
port of Alexandria among the Mussulmans, by whom they were civilly received, and from whom they drew the riches of Asia.

Venice and Genoa, so powerful in the sequel, by means of trade, had not yet engrossed the riches of the nations, although Venice began to grow wealthy and great.

Rome, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles, and Tours had a great many woollen manufactures, iron was damasked, glass was made, silk stuffs were not woven in any city of the West.

The Venetians began to bring them from Constantinople, where they were not known till after the Emperor Justinian; but it was not till nearly four hundred years after Charlemagne that the Moors fabricated silk at Cordova, and the Norman princes who conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily afterwards established a silk manufactory at Palermo. Almost all the works of industry and craft were performed in the empire of the East. Linen was uncommon. St. Boniface, in a letter written to a bishop settled in Germany, desires he will send him some shagged cloth to wipe his feet after washing. This want of linen was, in all probability, the cause of that disease of the skin, known by the name of leprosy, so rife in those days; for there was already a great number of those hospitals called Lazars.

It is pretended that even in the time of Charlemagne great projects were formed for the benefit of commerce, as they had actually begun the famous



canal, which was to join the Rhine to the Danube, and thus open a communication between the Black Sea and the ocean. But the spirit of conquest might have had a greater share in this undertaking than any view to public utility.

Money had nearly the same value as that of the Roman empire after Constantine. The golden sol was the *solidum Romanum,* which the barbarians called " sol " from their known habit of contracting all names. Thus of *"Augustus"* they made *"Août;" of "Forum Julii," "Fréjus;"* and this golden sol was equivalent to forty deniers of silver through the whole extent of Charlemagne's dominions.

THE CHURCH.

The churches of France were rich, those of Germany began to be rich, and were destined one day to be more so, because they were endowed with larger territories. The bishops and abbots had a great number of slaves. The abbot Alcuin, preceptor to Charlemagne, is reproached with having had twenty thousand. This number is not incredible. Alcuin possessed three abbeys, the lands of which had been inhabited by twenty thousand men, all belonging to the lord or superior. These slaves, known under the name of " serfs," could not marry nor change the place of their abode without the permission of the abbot. They were obliged to go fifty leagues with their carts, if he commanded them.

They worked for him three days in the week, and he shared all the fruits of the earth.

In France and in Germany the bishops more than once have been known to go to battle with their serfs. Charlemagne, in a letter to one of his wives, called Frastada, mentions a bishop who had valiantly fought by his side, in a battle against the Avars, a people descended from the Scythians, who were settled towards the country which is now called Austria.

We find in his time fourteen monasteries which were obliged to furnish soldiers. If the abbot was in the least inclined to war, nothing hindered him from heading them in person; true it is in the year 803, a parliament complained to Charlemagne, that too great a number of priests had been slain in war. Then the ministers of the altar were forbidden to go to battle, but custom was the stronger law.

We see in the Bavarian laws and the "*Capitularies*" of Charlemagne, that the priests were forbidden to have any women in their houses other than their mothers and sisters: this was one of those laws which are contradicted by custom.

No person was allowed to call himself clerk who was not really so, or to wear the tonsure without belonging to a bishop. Such clerks were called "*acephali*," and punished as vagabonds. They were ignorant of the station so common in our days, which is neither secular nor ecclesiastic. The title of "*abbot*," which signifies father, belonged to none

but the chiefs of monasteries, or even to seculars constituted in dignity; for example, that title was given to the chief of the republic of Genoa.

The abbots of that time had the pastoral staff which the bishops carried, and which had been the mark of the augural dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power those abbots had over their monks, that they sometimes condemned them to the most cruel afflictive pains. They were the first who adopted the barbarous custom of the Greek emperors, namely, that of burning the eyes, and a council was obliged to prohibit this outrage, which they began to look upon as a right and prerogative.

As to the ceremonies of the Church, the mass was different from what it is at present, and still more different from what it had been in the first ages: there was no more than one said in every church. And kings very rarely caused them to be said in private.

The first auricular confession, which is called general confession, is that of St. Eloy in the sixth century. The enemies of the Roman Church, who have revolted against such a salutary institution, seem to have divested mankind of the most effectual bridle to restrain their secret crimes. Even the very sages of antiquity had felt the importance of it; and although they had not been able to impose it as a duty on all men, they had established the practice of it among those who pretended to lead a life of purity: it was the first expiation of those who were

initiated among the ancient Egyptians, and in the Eleusinian Mysteries of Ceres. Thus has the Christian religion consecrated things, the shadow of which God had permitted human wisdom to perceive and embrace.

Religion was not yet extended to the north farther than the conquests of Charlemagne. Denmark and all the country of the Normans were plunged in gross idolatry. The inhabitants adored Odin; they imagined that after death, the happiness of man consisted in drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies in Odin's hall. We still have translations of their old songs which express this notion. It was a great deal for them to believe in another life. Poland was neither less barbarous nor less idolatrous. The Muscovites, more savage than all the other inhabitants of Great Tartary, knew scarcely enough of religion to be Pagans. Yet all these nations lived quietly and peaceably in their ignorance, happy in being unknown to Charlemagne, who sold the knowledge of Christianity so dear.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

Justice was usually administered by counts appointed by the king. They had their respective districts assigned, and were supposed to be acquainted with the laws, which were neither so numerous nor obscure as ours: the proceedings were simple, and every man pleaded his own cause in France and Germany.

Rome alone and her dependencies still retained abundance of the laws and formalities of the Roman Empire; the Lombard laws prevailed through the rest of northern Italy.

Every count had under him a lieutenant called "*viguier,*" seven assessors (*scabini*) chosen in the city. Like the ancient Roman senators, they were at once warriors and judges. Nay, they were forbidden to appear upon the tribunal without their bucklers; but, under Charlemagne, no other citizens or even soldiers were allowed to go armed in time of peace. This wise law, conformable to that of the Romans and Mussulmans, prevented those quarrels and continual duels which afterwards desolated Europe, when the fashion was introduced of never quitting the sword, but of going armed into the houses of friends, courts of judicature, and churches; an abuse carried to such a length that in Spain, Germany, and Flanders, the judge, the counsellor, the solicitor, and physician walk at this day with their swords by their sides, as if they were going to fight.

Those counts published in their jurisdiction the order of marching to war, enlisting soldiers under captains or companies of a hundred, conducted them to the rendezvous of the troops, and in the meantime left their lieutenants to act as judges in the boroughs, for I dare not call them cities.

The king sent commissaries with express letters, *Missi Dominici,* to examine the conduct of

the counts: but those commissaries and counts seldom condemned a criminal to death or to any corporal punishment. For, excepting Saxony, where Charlemagne exacted sanguinary laws, almost all sorts of crimes were punished by fine through the rest of his empire; that of rebellion alone was punished with death, and the kings reserved the judgment to themselves. The Salic law, that of the Lombards and of the *Ripuarii*, had set fixed prices upon the greatest part of all the other outrages which are now punished with the loss of life, or by severe penalties. This jurisprudence, which appears humane, was in effect more cruel than our own: it left everybody who could pay for it, at liberty to do mischief. The gentlest law is that which by bridling iniquity in the most terrible manner, prevents the frequent commission of crimes.

By the ancient laws reduced under Dagobert, king of the Franks, it cost one hundred sols to cut off a man's ear; and if the loss of the ear was not attended with deafness, the perpetrator was quit for fifty.

The murder of a deacon was taxed at four hundred sols, and that of a parish priest at six hundred.

The third chapter of the Ripuary law allows the murderer of a bishop to atone the crime by paying as much gold as will balance a leaden tunic as long as the delinquent, and of a determined thickness.

The Salic law, revived under Charlemagne, fixes

the price of a bishop's life at four hundred sols. It is so true that a criminal could redeem his life in this manner, that a number of those laws are thus expressed: *Componat tercentum, ducentum, centum solidis.* The delinquent may compound for three hundred, two hundred, or one hundred sols.

The torture was applied to slaves only, and he who by the torture occasioned the death of an innocent slave belonging to another man, was obliged to give him two by way of satisfaction.

Charlemagne, who corrected the Salic and Lombard laws, did nothing but raise the price of crimes. They were all specified, and a distinction made between the price of a stroke that bared the brain, and one that only cut off one of the tables of the skull: the first was valued at forty-five sols, and the other at twenty.

A witch convicted of having eaten human flesh was condemned to pay two hundred sols: And this article is a proof very humbling to human nature, of the excess to which we may be driven by superstition.

All outrages against chastity had likewise their fixed prices. The rape of a married woman cost two hundred sols. For having violated a girl on the highway, they paid but forty sols. Whosoever carried off a girl of servile condition, was fined four sols, and obliged to restore her to her mother. The most severe of those barbarous laws was precisely that which ought to have been the most gentle. Char-

lemagne himself, in the sixth book of his "*Capitularies*," says that a man's marrying his godmother is a crime worthy of death, which can be atoned for in no other way but by spending his whole life in pilgrimage.

Among the Salic laws there is one which strongly denotes the contempt into which the Romans were fallen with those barbarous people: The Frank who had slain a Roman citizen, paid no more than 1,050 deniers; whereas the Roman paid 2,500 for the blood of a Frank.

In criminal causes that could not be otherwise decided, the accused party purged himself by oath, and not only himself, but he was obliged to produce a certain number of witnesses to swear to the same effect. When both parties opposed oath to oath, the combat was sometimes permitted.

These combats we know were appeals to the judgment of God: this is the name they gave to the most deplorable follies of those barbarous governments. The accused were subjected to the proof of cold water, boiling water, or red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluze has collected all the ancient ceremonies of those trials. They began with the mass, the accused person was excommunicated, the cold water was blessed and exorcised, and then, being bound with cords, he was thrown into the water. If he sank to the bottom, he was reputed innocent; but if he floated on the surface, he was found guilty. M. de Fleury, in his "Ecclesiastical

History," says it was a sure way to find no person criminal. "I dare say, it was a way by which many innocent persons perished. There are many men whose breasts are so large, and whose lungs are so light, as to hinder them from sinking, especially when a thick cord with which they are tied in several circumvolutions, constitutes, with the body, a volume specifically lighter than the same quantity of water." This wretched custom, since proscribed in large cities, is preserved even to our days in many provinces; and those who incurred the imputation of sorcery have been often subjected to it, even by the sentence of the judge; for nothing endures so long as superstition, and more than one unfortunate wretch has lost his life by the trial.

The judgment of God, by means of hot water, was executed by compelling the accused to plunge his naked arm into a tub of boiling water and take up from the bottom a consecrated ring. The judge, in presence of the priests and the people, enclosed the patient's arm in a bag sealed with his own seal: and if in three days thereafter no mark of a scald appeared, or if the mark was thought inconsiderable, his innocence was acknowledged. We plainly see that the judges could warp these strange laws according to their own pleasure, seeing it was in their power to decide whether or not the cicatrix was considerable enough to constitute the crime.

793 — Charles being neighbor to the Huns, of consequence becomes their natural enemy. He levies

troops against them, and girds his son Louis with the sword in the fourteenth year of his age. He makes him what was then called *Miles,* that is, instructs him in the art of war; but this was not creating him knight, as some authors have imagined. Chivalry was not established until a long time after this period. He again defeats the Huns upon the Danube and upon the Raab.

Charles assembles the bishops to judge the doctrine of Elipand, archbishop of Toledo. One may be amazed to find an archbishop of Toledo at that time when the Mussulmans were masters in Spain; but we must know that the Mussulmans, though victors, left liberty of conscience to the vanquished; that they did not think the Christians were worthy to be Mussulmans, and contented themselves with imposing a slight tribute upon them.

This Elipand imagined, like Felix d'Urgel, that Jesus Christ, as man was the adopted son, but, as God, was the natural son, of God the Father. It was a difficult point to resolve by one's self; therefore it was referred to judges, by whom the doctrine was condemned.

While Charles obtains victories, enacts laws, and assembles bishops, a conspiracy is formed against him. He had a son by one of his wives or concubines, called Pepin the Hunchback, to distinguish him from his other son, Pepin, king of Italy. Such children as are now called bastards, and deprived of inheritance, were capable of inheriting at that time,

and were not reputed bastards. Hunchback, though the eldest of all the sons, had no portion, and this is the origin of the conspiracy. He is apprehended with his accomplices at Ratisbon, tried by a parliament, shaved, and sent to the monastery of Prum in the Ardennes. Some of his adherents have their eyes cut out, and others are beheaded.

794 — The Saxons revolt again, and are again easily defeated. Wittikind was no longer at their head.

The famous Council of Frankfort. Here was condemned the Second Council of Nice, in which the Empress Irene had re-established the worship of images.

Charlemagne causes the "Carolin-Books" to be written against image-worship. Rome did not then think like the kingdom of the Franks; but this difference of opinion did not create any quarrel between Charlemagne and the pope, to whom his friendship was necessary.

795 — The duke of Friuli, a vassal of Charles, is sent against the Huns, and makes himself master of their treasures, supposing they had any. Pope Adrian dies December 25. Charlemagne is said to have written his epitaph in Latin verse; but one can hardly believe that this king of the Franks, who could not write, should nevertheless be capable of making Latin verses.

976 — Leo III. succeeds Adrian, and Charles writes to him thus: "We rejoice at your election,

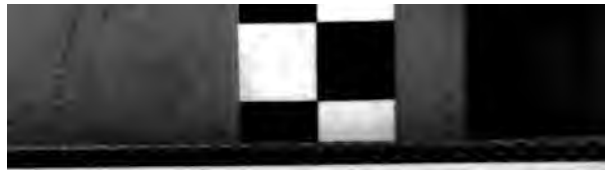
and that you pay us that obedience and fidelity which is our due." In this manner he expresses himself as a patrician of Rome, and thus his father expressed himself to the Franks as mayor of the palace.

797-798 — Pepin, king of Italy, is sent by his father against the Huns; a sure sign that the former victories were not very complete. He obtains a new one. The celebrated Empress Irene is shut up in a cloister by her son Constantine V. She reascends the throne; causes her son's eyes to be put out: he dies of the operation, and she laments his death. This Irene, although the natural enemy of Charlemagne, was desirous of being allied to him.

799 — At this period the Normans, that is "men of the North," who inhabited the coasts of the Baltic, were pirates. Charles equips a fleet and clears the seas of them.

The new pope, Leo III., incurs the resentment of the Romans; his canons resolve to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue. The attempt is made, but he recovers of his wounds; he comes to Paderborn to demand justice of Charles, who sends him back to Rome with an escort. Charles follows him in a little time; sends his son Pepin to seize the duchy of Beneventum, which is still held by the emperor of Constantinople.

800 — He arrives at Rome; declares the pope innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, and the pope declares him emperor amidst the acclamations of the people. Charlemagne affects to conceal his



joy under the cloak of modesty, and seems astonished at his glory; he acts as the sovereign of Rome, and renews the empire of the Cæsars; but to render that empire durable, there was a necessity for his remaining at Rome.

801 — Historians allege that as soon as he was emperor, Irene expressed a desire of being married to him. Such a marriage would rather have been between the two empires than between Charlemagne and Irene, who was an old woman.

802 — Charlemagne exerts all the authority of the old emperors. No country from Beneventum to Bayonne, and from Bayonne to Bavaria, was exempted from his legislative power. John, duke of Venice, having assassinated a bishop, is accused before Charles, and does not object to him as a judge.

Nicephorus, successor to Irene, acknowledges Charles as emperor, without coming to any agreement about the limits of the two empires.

803-804 — The emperor applies himself to the establishment of police in his dominions, as much as the times would permit. He again disperses the factions of the Saxons, and at last transports part of that people to Flanders, Provence, Italy, and Rome itself.

805 — He dictates his last will, which begins thus: "Charles, Emperor, Cæsar, the most invincible king of the Franks," etc. He bequeaths to Louis all the country from Spain to the Rhine; he leaves Italy

and Bavaria to Pepin, and to Charles, France from the Loire to Ingoldstadt, and all Austrasia from the Scheldt to the confines of Brandenburg. In these three lots there was subject for eternal divisions. Charlemagne thought to prevent all dissensions, by ordaining that if any difference should happen about the limits of these kingdoms, which could not be decided by evidence, they should appeal to the "Judgment of the Cross." This consisted in making the opposite advocates stand with their arms extended, and he who was first wearied lost the cause. The natural good sense of so great a conqueror could not overbalance the customs of the age.

Charlemagne still retains the empire and the sovereignty, and was king of the kings, his children. This famous will was made at Thionville with the approbation of a parliament The parliament was composed of bishops, abbots, officers of the palace, and the army, who attended for no other reason but to attest the will of an absolute master. The diets were not then what they are now; and that vast republic of princes, noblemen, and free towns under one chief, was not then established.

806 — The famous Haroun, caliph of Bagdad, the new Babylon, sends ambassadors and presents to Charlemagne. The nations bestowed upon Haroun a title superior to that of Charlemagne; the emperor of the West was surnamed "The Great," but the caliph was surnamed "The Just."

It is not surprising that Haroun-al-Raschid should send ambassadors to the French emperor; they were both enemies to the emperor of the East; but what would be surprising is that a caliph, as our historians allege, should propose the cession of Jerusalem to Charlemagne. It would have been a profanation in the caliph to yield up to Christians a city full of mosques, and this profanation would have cost him his throne and life. Besides, enthusiasm had not as yet summoned the Christians of the West to Jerusalem.

Charles convokes a council at Aix-la-Chapelle. This council adds to the creed, "that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son." This addition was not then received at Rome, but the Romans adopted it soon after. Thus some dogmas are established by little and little.

At this period the people called Normans, Danes, and Scandinavians, reinforced by the ancient Saxons, who had retired among them, presumed to menace the coast of the new empire. Charles crosses the Elbe, and Godfrey, chief of all those Barbarians, in order to defend himself, draws a large trench between the ocean and the Baltic, on the confines of Holstein, the ancient Cimbrian Chersonesus, and fortifies this trench with a strong palisade. In the same manner the Romans had drawn an entrenchment between England and Scotland: feeble imitations of the famous Chinese wall.

807-809 — Treaties with the Danes. Laws for

the Saxons. Police established in the empire. Small fleets stationed at the mouths of rivers.

810 — Pepin, that son of Charlemagne to whom his father had given the kingdom of Italy, dies of the plague, in the month of July, leaving a bastard called Bernard. The emperor, without difficulty, bestows Italy on this bastard, as the natural heir, according to the custom of the time.

811 — A fleet stationed at Boulogne in the channel. A light-house rebuilt at Boulogne. Würzburg built. The death of Prince Charles, destined for the empire.

813 — The emperor associates his son Louis in the empire, in the month of March, at Aix-la-Chapelle. All present are obliged to give their votes for this association. He gives the city of Ulm to the monks, who treat the inhabitants like slaves. He gives lands to Eginard, the supposed lover of his daughter Emma. The romances are full of fable worthy of Archbishop Turpin, concerning this Eginard and that pretended daughter of the emperor; but, unfortunately for the author, Charlemagne never had a daughter of that name.

814 — He dies of a pleurisy after seven days' illness, on January 28, at three in the morning. He had no physician near him who knew what a pleurisy was. Medicine, like almost all the other arts, was known to none but the Arabians and Greeks of Constantinople.

LOUIS LE DÉBONNAIRE, OR THE WEAK.

SECOND EMPEROR.

814 — Louis hastens from Aquitaine to Aix-la-Chapelle, and puts himself in full possession of the empire. He was born in 778 to Charlemagne by one of his wives, called Ildegarde, daughter of a German duke. He is said to have had beauty, strength, health, and address at all his exercises, and to have understood Latin and Greek; but he was weak and unfortunate. His empire was bounded on the north by the Baltic and Denmark, the ocean on the west, the Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Pyrenees on the south, and the Vistula and Tanais on the east. The duke of Beneventum was his feudatory, and paid him annually seven thousand crowns of gold for his duchy; a very considerable sum at that time. The territory of Beneventum extended much farther at that time than now, and constituted the boundary of the two empires.

815 — The first step that Louis took was to shut up all his sisters in convents, and all their lovers in jail, a measure for which he was not beloved, either in his own family, or in the state; the second was to augment the privileges of all the churches; the third was to incense his nephew, Bernard, king of Italy, who came to take the oath of fidelity, and saw all his friends exiled.

816 — Stephen IV. is elected bishop of Rome and pope by the Roman people, without consulting the

emperor; but he makes the people swear obedience and fidelity to Louis, to whom he carries the oath in person to Rheims. He crowns the emperor and his wife Ermengarde; and returns to Rome in the month of October, with a decree importing that for the future the popes shall be elected in presence of the emperor's ambassadors.

817 — Louis associates his eldest son Lotharius in the empire. This was hastening matters considerably. He made Pepin, his second son, king of Aquitaine; and erects Bavaria, with some neighboring countries, into a kingdom for his youngest son Louis. All three are dissatisfied; Lotharius, at being an emperor without power; the two others, with the smallness of their dominions; and Bernard, king of Italy, nephew to the emperor, more dissatisfied than all the rest.

818 — The emperor Louis thought himself emperor of Rome, and Bernard, grandson of Charlemagne, would have no master in Italy. It is plain that Charlemagne in his division had acted more like a parent than a politician, and laid the foundation of civil wars for his family. The emperor and Bernard had recourse to arms, and meet at Châlons-fur-Saône. Bernard, who was probably more ambitious than warlike, loses part of his army without fighting; and submits to the mercy of Louis le Débonnaire, who orders the eyes of his nephew, Bernard, and all his partisans to be put out. The operation was not expertly performed upon Bernard,

who dies three days after he had undergone it. This custom of putting out the eyes of princes was very much practiced by the Greek emperors, unknown to the caliphs, and prohibited by Charlemagne.

819 — The emperor loses his wife, Ermengarde, and hesitates whether he shall become a monk or marry again. He takes to wife one Judith, daughter of a Bavarian count. He pacifies some troubles in Pannonia, and holds diets at Aix-la-Chapelle.

820 — His generals retake Carniola and Carinthia from the barbarians, who had conquered these provinces.

821 — Several ecclesiastics inspire the emperor Louis with remorse for the punishment he had inflicted upon his nephew, King Bernard, and the monasterial captivity in which he held three of his own brothers, whose names were Drogan, Thierri, and Hugues, contrary to the promise he had made to Charlemagne to take care of their fortune. Those ecclesiastics were in the right. It is a consolation to mankind that there are everywhere men who can, in the name of the Divinity, inspire princes with remorse; but there they ought to stop, without persecuting and debasing them.

822 — The bishops and abbots impose a public penance on the emperor. He appears in the assembly of Attigny covered with haircloth. He gives archbishoprics and abbeys to his brothers, whom he had made monks against their inclination. He implores forgiveness of God for the death of Bernard;

this might have been done without haircloth and public penance, which rendered the emperor ridiculous.

823 — What were more dangerous circumstances, Lotharius, whom he had associated in the empire, caused himself to be crowned at Rome by Pope Paschal; the empress Judith, his mother-in-law, brought him a brother; and the Romans neither loved nor valued the emperor. One of the great faults of Louis was his neglecting to fix the state of empire at Rome. Pope Paschal, without remission, put out the eyes of all those who preached obedience to emperors; but afterwards he swore before God that he had no share in these executions, and the emperor said not a word.

The empress Judith is delivered at Compiègne of a son, who is called Charles. Lotharius was then returned from Rome. His father, Louis, the emperor, exacts of him an oath, importing that he would consent to give some kingdom to this child; a kind of oath, the violation of which he might have foreseen.

824 — Pope Paschal dies. The Romans will not allow him to be buried. Lotharius, on his return to Rome, causes informations to be taken against his memory. The process is dropped. Lotharius, as emperor and sovereign of Rome, makes laws for the protection of the popes; but in these very laws, he names the pope before himself; an extremely dangerous piece of inattention.

Pope Stephen II. takes the oath of fidelity to the two emperors, but there it is expressly said it was of his own free will. The clergy and the Roman people swear they will never suffer a pope to be elected without the consent of the emperor. They swear fealty to their lords Louis and Lotharius, but add, "saving the fidelity we have promised to our lord the pope."

It seems that in all the oaths of those times there were clauses by which they were in effect annulled. Armorica or Brittany would not then acknowledge the empire. Those people had no right, but that in common to all men, to be free; but in less than forty days they were obliged to yield to the stronger power.

825 — One Heriolt, duke of the Danes, comes to the court of Louis to embrace the Christian religion; but this was because he had been expelled from his own dominions. The emperor sends Anscharius, a monk of Corbie, to preach Christianity in the deserts where Stockholm is now actually built. He founds the bishopric of Hamburg for this Anscharius, and from Hamburg the missionaries are to set out, in order to convert the North.

New Corbie is founded in Westphalia for the same purpose. The abbot, instead of being a missionary, is now a prince of the empire.

826 — While Louis is employed at Aix-la-Chapelle, about the missions of the North, the Moorish kings of Spain send troops into Aquitaine, and war

is carried on near the Pyrenees between the Mussulmans and the Christians; but it is soon terminated by agreement.

827 — The emperor Louis causes councils to be held at Mentz, Paris, and Toulouse. He repents of this measure. The Council of Paris writes to him and his son Lotharius: "We entreat your excellencies to remember, after the example of Constantine, that the bishops have a right to judge you, and that bishops cannot be judged by man."

Louis bestows upon his young son Charles, in the cradle, what was then called Germany, situate between the Main, the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube; to this he added Transjurane Burgundy, comprehending the country of Geneva and Switzerland.

The three other children of Louis resent this partition, and at first excite the exclamations of the whole empire.

828 — Judith, mother of Charles, that infant king of Germany, governed her husband, the emperor, and was governed by one Bernard, count of Barcelona, her gallant, whom she had placed at the head of affairs.

829 — So many weaknesses gave birth to factions. An abbot, called Vala, a relative of Louis, begins a conspiracy against the emperor. His three children — Lotharius associated with him in the empire, Pepin, to whom he had given Aquitaine, and Louis,

who had received Bavaria from his bounty, declared against their father.

An abbot of St. Denis, who had at the same time St. Médard de Soissons and St. Germain, promises to levy troops for their service. The bishops of Vienna, Amiens, and Lyons declare all those who will not join them, "rebels to God and the Church." This was not the first time the world had seen civil war preached up in the name of God; but it was the first time any father had at one time seen three of his own children rebellious and unnatural in the name of God.

830 — Each of these rebellious sons had an army; and the father had but a handful of troops, with which he fled from Aix-la-Chapelle to Picardy. He set out on Ash Wednesday, a circumstance trifling in itself, but become eternally memorable by its having been imputed to him as a crime equal to sacrilege.

At first a remnant of respect for the paternal and imperial authority, which had mixed with the rebellion, induces them to give Louis the Weak the hearing in an assembly at Compiègne. There he promised to be ruled by the advice of his son, King Pepin, and that of the priests, and to make his wife a nun, but until a decisive resolution can be taken Pepin, according to the custom of the times, puts out the eyes of Bernard, that gallant of Judith who thought himself secure; and his brother underwent the same fate.

Those who have a taste for the researches of

antiquity are of opinion that Bernard preserved his eyes, and that his brother suffered for him. True knowledge does not consist in the investigation of these things; but in knowing the barbarous customs which prevailed at that time, the weakness of the government, the misery of nations, and the power of the clergy.

Lotharius arrives from Italy: he puts the emperor, his father, in prison, in the hands of monks. One of these, whose name was Gombaud, having more address than his fellows, serves the emperor with great dexterity, and effects his deliverance. Lotharius at length begs pardon of his father at Nimeguen. The three brothers are divided among themselves, and the emperor, at the mercy of those by whom he is governed, leaves the whole empire in confusion.

831 — Diets are assembled and armies raised on all hands. The empire becomes an anarchy. Louis of Bavaria enters the country called Germany and makes his peace at the head of an army.

Pepin is made prisoner. Lotharius is taken into favor; and in every treaty a new rebellion is projected.

832 — The empress Judith takes the advantage of a lucky moment to strip Pepin of the kingdom of Aquitaine and give it to her son Charles — that is, to herself, in the name of her son. If the emperor Louis the Weak had not given away so many kingdoms he would have been able to keep his own.

Lotharius, under pretext of dethroning his brother Pepin, arrives from Italy with an army, and with that army brings Pope Gregory IV. to inspire more respect and excite more trouble.

833 — Some bishops attached to the emperor Louis, particularly those of Germany, write to the Pope: "If thou art come to excommunicate, thou shalt return excommunicated." But the party of Lotharius, of the other rebellious sons, and the pope, prevailed. The rebel and papal army advances to the neighborhood of Basel against the imperial army. The pope writes to the bishops: "Know that the authority of my chair is greater than that of the throne of Louis." In order to prove that assertion, he negotiates with that emperor and deceives him. The field in which they negotiated is called "the field of deceit." He seduced the emperor's officers and soldiers. That unfortunate father surrenders himself to his rebellious sons Lotharius and Louis of Bavaria on the single condition that they should not put out the eyes of his wife and his son Charles, who was with him.

The rebellious Lotharius sends his mother-in-law prisoner to Tortona, his father to the abbey of St. Médard, and his brother Charles to the monastery of Prum. He assembles a diet at Compiègne, and thence adjourns to Soissons.

An archbishop of Rheims, called Ebbon, taken from a servile condition against the laws, and elevated to that dignity by Louis himself, deposes his

sovereign and benefactor. The monarch is compelled to appear before this prelate, surrounded by thirty bishops, canons and monks in the church of Notre Dame, at Soissons. Lotharius is present at the humiliation of the father. A haircloth is spread before the altar. The archbishop commands the emperor to take off his baldric, sword, and habit, and prostrate himself upon this haircloth. Louis, with his face towards the earth, implores of his own accord public penance, which he deserved but too well by this abject submission. The archbishop compels him to read aloud the list of his crimes, among which it is specified that he had ordered his troops to march on Ash Wednesday, and convoked a parliament on Holy Thursday. They constitute a verbal process of this whole transaction, a monument of insolence and meanness still extant. In this process they did not even deign to call Louis by the name of emperor.

Louis the Weak continues shut up for the space of a year, in a cell of the convent of St. Médard at Soissons, clothed in sackcloth, without servants, without consolation. Had he had but one son, he would have been lost forever; but his three children quarrelled about his spoils, and their dissensions soon restored liberty and the crown to their father. At this time of anarchy, the Normans, that is an assemblage of Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Pomeranians and Livonians, infested the coasts of the empire. They burned the new bishopric of Ham-

burg, sacked and plundered Friesland, showed by anticipation the miseries they would one day occasion, and there was no other way taken to expel them, but paying a sum of money, which invited them to return again.

834 — Louis, king of Bavaria, and Pepin, king of Aquitaine, resolve to deliver their father, because they are dissatisfied with their brother Lotharius, who is forced to consent to his enlargement. The emperor is re-established at St. Denis, near Paris, but he dares not resume the crown, till after he is absolved by the bishops.

835 — As soon as he is absolved, he is enabled to levy troops. Lotharius restores his wife Judith and his son Charles. An assembly at Thionville anathematizes that of Soissons. It costs the archbishop Ebbon no more than the loss of his see; besides, he was only deposed in the vestry; whereas, the emperor had been degraded at the foot of the altar.

836 — This whole year is spent in fruitless negotiations, and marked by public calamities.

837 — Louis the Weak is taken ill. A comet appears: "Fail not," said the emperor to his astrologer, "to let me know what that comet signifies." The astrologer answers that it portended the death of a great prince. The emperor did not doubt but it was his own; prepares himself for death, and recovers. That same year the comet had its effect

upon his son, King Pepin. This was a new source of trouble.

838 — The emperor Louis has now but two children to fear, instead of three. Louis of Bavaria rebels again, and again begs pardon.

839 — Lotharius likewise begs pardon in order to have Aquitaine. The emperor makes a new partition of his dominions, takes everything from the children of Pepin lately dead. To Italy, possessed by the rebel Lotharius, he adds Burgundy, Lyons, Franche-Comté, part of Lorraine, of the Palatinate, of Trier, Cologne, Alsace, Franconia, Nuremberg, Thuringia, Saxony, and Friesland. He gives to his beloved Charles, the son of Judith, all that lies between the Loire, the Rhone, the Meuse, and the ocean. By this partition, he again finds the secret to disgust his children and grandchildren. Louis of Bavaria takes arms against him.

840 — Louis, the emperor, dies at length of chagrin. Before his death he makes presents to his children. Some partisans of Louis of Bavaria, expostulating with him on account of his having given nothing to that unnatural son, " I forgive him," said he, " but let him know he is the cause of my death."

His will confirms the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne to the Church of Rome, which owes everything to the kings of the Franks. One is surprised in reading the charter called *"Carta divisionis,"* to find him adding Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily to those presents. Sardinia and Sicily

were disputed between the Mussulmans and some Christian adventurers, which last had recourse to the popes, from whom they received bulls and charity. They consented to hold of the popes; but at that time, in order to acquire that right of fief or dependence, the popes ought to have demanded it of the emperors. It is not known whether or not Louis the Weak actually ceded the superiority of Sardinia and Corsica. As for Sicily, it belonged to the emperors of the East.

Louis expires June 20, 840.

LOTHARIUS.

THIRD EMPEROR.

841 — In a little time after the death of his son Charlemagne's empire underwent the destiny of Alexander's, and of the greatness of the caliphs. Raised with precipitation, it tumbled all at once, and was divided by intestine wars.

It is not at all surprising that princes who had dethroned their father should wish to exterminate one another. Every one vied in stripping his brother. Lotharius, the emperor, wanted to have the whole. Louis of Bavaria and Charles, the son of Judith, united against him. They laid waste the empire and drained it of soldiers. The two kings fought a bloody battle with their brother at Fontenoy in the Auxerois. A hundred thousand men are said to have

been lost on this occasion. Lotharius was victor. Then he exhibited to the world an example of policy quite contrary to that of Charlemagne. The conqueror of the Saxons and Frieslanders had subjected them to Christianity as a necessary check. Lotharius, in order to attach them to his interest, gives them free liberty of conscience, and one-half of the country becomes idolatrous again.

842 — The two brothers, Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Aquitaine, unite by that famous oath which is almost the only monument extant of the language called Romance: *Pro Deo amur et pro Christian poblo, and nostro commun salvament dinst di in avant, in quant Deos savir and podir me dunat, etc.* This language is still spoken in the Grisons of the valley of Engadina.

843-844 — An assembly is held at Verdun for a a treaty of partition between the three brothers. They fight and negotiate from the Rhine to the Alps. Italy waits in tranquillity until the fate of arms shall give her a master.

845 — While the three brothers tear in pieces the bosom of the empire, the Normans continue to lay waste the frontiers with impunity. At length the three brothers sign the famous treaty of partition, terminated at Coblentz by a hundred and twenty deputies. Lotharius remains emperor. He possesses Italy, part of Burgundy, the course of the Rhine, the Scheldt and the Meuse. Louis of Bavaria keeps all the rest of Germany. Charles, after-

wards surnamed the Bald, is king of France. The emperor renounces all authority over these two brothers. Thus he is no more than emperor of Italy, without being master of Rome. All the great officers and noblemen of the three kingdoms acknowledge, by an authentic act, the division of the three brothers, and the succession entailed upon their children.

Pope Sergius II. is elected by the Roman people, and takes possession of the chair, without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor Lotharius. That prince is not powerful enough to avenge the affront, but sends his son Louis to Rome to confirm the pope's election, in order to preserve his right, and that the youth may be crowned king of the Lombards or of Italy. He likewise procures a regulation at Rome in an assembly of bishops, ordering that no pope shall be consecrated without the confirmation of the emperor.

Meanwhile, Louis in Germany is obliged to fight, sometimes with the Huns, sometimes with the Normans, and sometimes with the Bohemians. These Bohemians, together with the Silesians and Moravians, were idolatrous barbarians who made incursions upon the Christian barbarians with varying success.

The emperor Lotharius and Charles the Bald have still more to suffer in their dominions. The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine no longer know whom to obey.

There is a faction raised in favor of a son of that unfortunate Pepin, king of Aquitaine, who had been stripped by his father, Louis the Weak. Several tyrants made themselves masters of several towns. Small battles were everywhere fought, and in these there were always a number of monks, abbots, and bishops slain sword in hand. Hugues, that son of Charlemagne, who was compelled to be a monk, afterwards abbot of St. Quentin, is killed before Toulouse, together with the abbot of Ferriere; two bishops are there made prisoners. The Normans ravage the coasts of France. Charles the Bald makes no other opposition to them, but enters into an obligation to pay them fourteen thousand silver marks, which was a sure way of inviting them to return.

847 — The Emperor Lotharius, no less unfortunate, cedes Friesland to the Normans, by the title of homage. This fatal custom of receiving enemies for vassals, paves the way for the settlement of those pirates of Normandy.

848 — While the Normans ravage the coasts of France, the Saracens enter Italy: make themselves masters of Sicily, advance towards Rome by the mouth of the Tiber, and plunder the rich church of St. Peter without the walls.

Pope Leo IV., in such a dangerous juncture, assuming an authority which the generals of the emperor Lotharius seemed to abandon, shows himself worthy in defending Rome to command as

sovereign in that city. He had employed the riches of the church in repairing the walls, building towers, and stretching chains across the Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expense, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaeta to come and defend the coast of Ostia, without neglecting the wise precaution of taking hostages from them, well knowing that those who are powerful enough to succor us, have also the power to do us harm. He in person visited all the posts and received the Saracens at their descent, not in the equipage of a warrior, like Goslin, bishop of Paris, upon a still more pressing occasion, but as a pontiff who exhorted a Christian people, and a king who watched over the safety of his subjects. In him the courage of the first ages of the republic revived in the age of cowardice and corruption, like a fair monument of old Rome, which is sometimes found in the ruins of the new.

The Arabians are defeated and the prisoners are employed in building a new wall around St. Peter's, and in aggrandizing the city which they came to destroy.

Lotharius associates his son, Louis, in his feeble empire. The Mussulmans are driven from Beneventum, but they remain in the Guarillan and in Calabria.

849 — New discord among the brothers, and among the bishops and noblemen, which renders the people still more unhappy. Some Frank and German bishops declare the emperor Lotharius has for-

feited the empire. They had no right to make this declaration, either as bishops or Germans and Franks, seeing he was only emperor of Italy. It was therefore a fruitless outrage. Lotharius was happier than his father.

850-852 — A reconciliation is effected among the three brothers. The empire is harassed by new incursions of all the barbarians bordering upon the empire.

In the midst of these horrors the missionary Anscharius, bishop of Hamburg, persuades one Eric, chief, or duke, or king of Denmark, to allow the Christian religion in his dominions. He obtains the same permission in Sweden. But the Swedes and Danes, nevertheless, make incursions upon the Christians.

853-854 — Amidst these desolations of France and Germany the weakness of Italy, threatened by the Mussulmans, the misgovernment of Louis of Italy, son of Lotharius, given up to debauchery at Pavia, and despised in Rome, the emperor of Constantinople negotiates with the pope for the recovery of Rome; but that emperor was no other than Michael, still more debauched and despised than Louis of Italy; and all these circumstances had no other effect than that of increasing the power of the pope.

855 — The emperor Lotharius, who had made his father, Louis the Weak, a monk, now makes himself a monk in his turn, induced by the troubles of his empire, the fear of death, and superstition. He

takes the habit in the abbey of Prum, and on September 18 dies like a simpleton, after having lived as a tyrant.

LOUIS II.

FOURTH EMPEROR.

856 — After the death of this third emperor of the West, new kingdoms arose in Europe. Louis of Italy, his eldest son, remains at Pavia, with the vain title of Emperor of the West. The second son, called Lotharius, after his father, has the kingdom of Lotharingia, afterwards called Lorraine, extended from Geneva to Strasburg and Utrecht. The third, whose name was Charles, possessed Savoy, Dauphiny, with part of Lyonnais, Provence, and Languedoc. These dominions composed the kingdom of Arles, from the name of the capital, a city formerly opulent and embellished by the Romans, but then small and poor like all the other towns of this side of the Alps. In the flourishing times of the republic and in the reigns of the Cæsars, the Romans aggrandized and decorated the towns which they had subdued, but when left to themselves or to the barbarians all of them went to wreck, and by their ruins attested the superiority of the Roman genius.

A barbarian called Solomon soon after made himself king of Brittany, part of which was still pagan, but all these kingdoms fell almost as fast as they were raised.

857 — Louis the Germanic begins by taking Alsace from the new king of Lorraine. He bestows privileges upon Strasburg, already a powerful city, when there was nothing but villages in that part of the world on the other side of the Rhine. The Normans desolate France. Louis the Germanic takes that opportunity to come and overwhelm his brother instead of assisting him against the barbarians. He defeats him near Orleans. The bishops of France in vain excommunicate him: he resolves to make himself master of France. The remainder of the Saxons and other barbarians who invade Germany oblige him to come and defend his own dominions.

858-865 — Louis II., that phantom of an emperor in Italy, takes no share in all these troubles, leaves the popes to strengthen their own power, and dares not reside at Rome.

Charles the Bald of France and Louis the Germanic make peace because they could no longer make war. The most memorable event of that time relates to the amours of Lotharius, king of Lorraine. That prince was willing to imitate Charlemagne, who repudiated his wives and married his concubines. He divorces his wife, called Thietberge, daughter of a Burgundian nobleman. She is accused of adultery and confesses the crime. He marries his mistress, called Valdrade, who had been formerly promised to him as a wife. He procures the convocation of a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, which approves of his divorce from Thietberge. The

decree of that council is confirmed by another at Metz, in presence of the pope's legates. Pope Nicholas I. annuls the councils of Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle and exercises an authority hitherto unknown. He excommunicates and deposes some bishops who espouse the party of the king of Lorraine, and finally that king is compelled to quit the wife whom he loves and to take back the other whom he could not love.

It were doubtless to be wished that there was a sacred tribunal to apprise sovereigns of their duty and make them blush for their violences. But there does not seem to be any reason for a monarch's submitting the secrets of his marriage-bed to the authority of a stranger, and the orientals appear to have always maintained customs more conformable to nature and more favorable for the domestic peace of families, in considering all the fruits of love as legitimate, and in rendering those amours impenetrable to the eyes of the public.

In those times the descendants of Charlemagne were always by the ears together, and their kingdoms were always attacked by the barbarians.

Young Pepin, great grandson of Charlemagne, son of the deposed Pepin, king of Aquitaine, who died without dominions, having for some time led a vagrant and unhappy life, joins the Normans, renounces the Christian religion and finishes his career by being taken and shut up in a convent, where he dies.

866 — It is to this year chiefly that we can fix the schism which still continues between the Greek and Roman churches. Neither Germany nor France intermeddled in the affair. The people were too miserable to mind those disputes, which are so interesting during the leisure of peace.

Charles, king of Arles, dies without issue. The emperor Louis and Lotharius divide his dominions.

It is a destiny fixed to the house of Charlemagne that the children should take arms against their fathers. Louis the Germanic had two sons, Louis, the younger, dissatisfied with his portion, endeavors to dethrone him. His rebellion produces no other consequence than that of his asking pardon.

867-868 — Louis, king of Germany, defeats the Moravians and Bohemians by the hands of his sons. These are not victories which augment a state and help it to flourish. This was nothing but repelling savages to their forests and mountains.

869 — The excommunicated king of Lorraine goes to visit the new pope Adrian at Rome, dines with him, promises to leave off living with his mistress, and dies on his return, at Placentia.

Charles the Bald seizes Lorraine, and even Alsace, in despite of the right of a bastard of Lotharius, to whom his father had given that province. Louis the Germanic had taken Alsace from Lotharius, but it was restored. Charles the Bald took but did not restore it.

870 — Louis of Germany wants to have Lorraine.

Louis of Italy, the emperor, has the same inclination and engages Pope Adrian in his interest. No regard is paid either to the emperor or pope. Louis of Germany and Charles the Bald divide all the dominions comprehended under the name of Lorraine in two equal parts. The western falls to the king of France and the eastern to the king of Germany. Pope Adrian threatens excommunication. They had already begun to make use of these arms, but they were despised. The emperor of Italy was not powerful enough to render them formidable.

871 — This emperor of Italy could scarce get the better of a duke of Beneventum, who being at the same time vassal of the empires of the East and West, would obey neither the one nor the other, and indeed kept the balance equal between them.

The Emperor Louis ventures to go to Beneventum and is put in prison by the duke, the very same adventure that afterwards happened to Louis XI. with the duke of Burgundy.

872-873 — Pope John VIII., who succeeded Adrian II., seeing the precarious situation of the emperor's health, privately promises the imperial crown to Charles the Bald of France, and sells that promise for a good price. This is the same John VIII. who paid such respect to the patriarch Photius, suffering him to be named before himself in a council at Constantinople.

The Moravians, Huns, and Danes continue to

harass Germany, and that vast extent of dominion cannot as yet have the benefit of good laws.

874 — France was not more happy. Charles the Bald had a son called Carloman, whom he had ordered to be shaved in his infancy, and created a deacon against his own inclination. At length he fled for refuge to Metz, in the dominions of his uncle, Louis of Germany, where he levies troops, but being taken, his father orders his eyes to be put out, according to the new fashion.

875 — The emperor Louis II. dies at Milan. His brother, Charles the Bald, king of France, passes the Alps, secures the passes against his brother Louis of Germany, hastens to Rome, lavishes away his money, is proclaimed king of the Romans by the people, and crowned by the pope.

If the Salic law had been in force in the family of Charlemagne, the empire must have belonged to the eldest branch of the house of Louis the Germanic, but a number of troops, expedition, condescension, and a sum of money constituted the right of Charles the Bald, and thereby he debased his own dignity to enjoy it. Pope John VIII. conferred the crown as sovereign. Charles the Bald received it as a vassal, acknowledging that he held everything of the pope, leaving to the successors of that pontiff the power of bestowing the empire, and promising to have always near him a vicar of the holy see to determine all ecclesiastical affairs of consequence. The archbishop of Sens was in that quality, primate

of Gaul and Germany, a title become altogether useless.

Assuredly the popes had reason to believe themselves vested with the right of bestowing the empire, and even of selling it, seeing they found people to ask and to purchase it of their hands, and seeing Charlemagne himself had received the title of emperor from Pope Leo III. But we have likewise reason to say that Leo III., in declaring Charlemagne emperor, had declared him his master, and that prince having taken the rights attached to his dignity it was the privilege of his successors to confirm the popes, not to be elected by them. Time, occasion, custom, prescription, and power are the foundation of all right.

CHARLES THE BALD.

FIFTH EMPEROR.

Charles causes himself to be crowned at Pavia, king of Lombardy, by the bishops, counts, and abbots of that country. "We elect you," it is said in that act, "with unanimous consent, seeing you have been raised to the imperial throne by the intercession of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and their vicar John, sovereign pontiff," etc.

876 — Louis of Germany falls upon France in order to revenge himself upon his brother for having prevented him from buying the empire, but death overtook him in the execution of his vengeance.

The custom — which leads men by the nose — at that time, was for princes to weaken their dominions in sharing them among their children. Accordingly Louis the Germanic divided his dominions among his three sons. To Carloman he gave Bavaria, Carinthia, and Pannonia; to Louis, Friesland, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia; and Charles the Gross, or the Fat, afterwards emperor, had the half of Lorraine, with Suabia and the neighboring countries, at that time called Germany.

877 — This division renders the emperor Charles the Bald more powerful, and he is resolved to seize that half of Lorraine which is not in his possession. Here follows an example of the excessive superstition at that time joined to rapaciousness and deceit. Louis of Germany sends thirty men to the camp of Charles the Bald, to prove, in the name of God, that his part of Lorraine of right belongs to him. Ten of these thirty confessors take up ten rings and ten flints out of a caldron of boiling water without being scalded. The same number carry each a red hot iron the space of nine feet without being burned and the last ten, being tied with cords, are thrown into cold water, and sink to the bottom — a sure proof of a righteous cause, for water expels those who are perjured, to the surface.

History is so full of those proofs that we can hardly deny the whole as apocryphal. Custom, which made them common, rendered also those arts common which make the skin for some time insensi-

ble to the action of fire, such as oil of vitriol, and other corrosives. With regard to the miracle of going to the bottom of the water into which they were thrown, it would have been a greater miracle had they floated on the surface.

Louis would not confine himself to this ceremony. He engaged near Cologne with the emperor his uncle, who being defeated, retired to Italy, whither he was pursued by the conqueror.

Rome was then threatened by the Mussulmans, who were still cantoned in Calabria. Carloman, the king of Bavaria, leagued with his brother of Lorraine, pursues his uncle, the Bald, into Italy, who finds himself at one time hard beset by his nephew, by the Mahometans, and the intrigues of the pope, and dies in October, at a village near Mount Cenis.

Historians say he was poisoned by his physician, a Jew, whose name was Sedecias. Certain it is the Christian part of Europe was then so ignorant that kings were obliged to employ Jews or Arabians for their physicians.

It is in the reign of Charles the Bald that the great feudal government began, and all things went to decay. It was under him that many possessors of great military offices, duchies, marquisates, and countships attempted to make these honors hereditary.

LOUIS III., THE STAMMERER.

SIXTH EMPEROR.

878 — Pope John VIII., who thinks he has a right to nominate an emperor, can scarcely support himself in Rome. He promises the empire to Louis the Stammerer, king of France, son of the Bald. He promises it to Carloman of Bavaria, and engages himself to one Lambert, duke of Spoleto, a vassal of the empire.

This Lambert of Spoleto, finding himself deceived by the pope, joins a marquis of Tuscany, enters Rome, seizes his holiness, but is afterwards obliged to release him. One Boson, duke of Arles, likewise pretends to the empire.

The Mahometans were nearer the conquest of Rome than all their competitors. The pope agrees to pay them an annual tribute of twenty thousand marks of silver. Anarchy prevails in Germany, France, and Italy.

Louis the Stammerer dies at Compiègne on April 10th. He is put in the list of emperors only because he was son of a prince who swayed the imperial sceptre.

CHARLES III., THE GROSS.

SEVENTH EMPEROR.

879 — The business was to make an emperor and a king of France. Louis the Stammerer left two children of fourteen and fifteen years of age. It was not then a decided point whether or not an infant or minor could be king. Several new noblemen of France offered the crown to Louis of Germany. He took no more than the western part of Lorraine, which had been the share of Charles the Bald. Louis and Carloman, the two sons of the Stammerer, are acknowledged kings of France, although they are not unanimously acknowledged as legitimate children, but Boson caused himself to be consecrated king of Arles, augments his territory, and claims the empire. Charles the Gross, king of the country still called Germany, presses the pope to crown him emperor. The pope answers that he will bestow the imperial crown upon him who shall first come to his assistance against the Christians and Mahometans.

880 — Charles the Gross, king of Germany, Louis, king of Bavaria and Lorraine, unite with the kings of France against Boson, the new king of Arles, and make war upon him. They besiege Vienne in Dauphiny, but Charles the Gross marches from Vienne to Rome.

881 — Charles is crowned and consecrated em-

peror by Pope John VIII. in the church of St. Peter, on Christmas day.

882 — His brother Louis, king of Bavaria, Pannonia, what was called Eastern France, and the two Lorraines, dies on January 20, in that same year, without issue. The emperor, Charles the Gross, was natural heir of his dominions, but the Normans presented themselves in order to share in them. These frequent troubles of the North rendered the imperial power problematic in Rome, where ancient liberty still thrust out new roots. It was not known who should reign in that ancient capital of Europe — whether it should be the people, the bishop, or an emperor who was a stranger.

The pope sends him a branch of palm, according to custom, but it was the only palm he obtained.

The Normans penetrate as far as Metz; they go and burn Aix-la-Chapelle, and destroy all the works of Charlemagne. Charles the Gross can find no other way of being delivered from them than that of seizing all the plate belonging to the churches and giving them 4,160 marks of silver, with which they went away to fit out new armaments.

883 — The empire had become so weak that Pope Martin II., who succeeded John VIII., begins with making a solemn decree, by which they were no longer to wait for the emperor's orders in electing popes. The emperor in vain complains of this decree. He had abundance of other affairs upon his hands.

A certain duke called Zuentibold laid waste Germany, at the head of the Moravian pagans. The emperor made peace with him as with the Normans. It is not known whether or not he had money to give him, but he acknowledged him as prince and vassal of the empire.

884 — A great part of Italy is still laid waste by the Duke of Spoleto and the Saracens, which last plunder the rich abbey of Monte Cassino, and carry off all its treasure, but a duke of Beneventum had been beforehand with them.

Charles the Gross marches into Italy to put a stop to these disorders. But scarcely has he arrived when, hearing of the death of his two nephews, the young kings of France, he repasses the Alps in order to claim the succession.

885 — Behold then Charles the Gross, who reunites upon his head all the crowns of Charlemagne, which however, he was not strong enough to bear.

A bastard of Lotharius, called Hugues, abbot of St. Denis, had for a long time laid a scheme for having Lorraine as his patrimony. He engages in a league with a Norman to whom Friesland had been ceded, and who marries his sister, and he calls other Normans to his assistance.

The emperor stifled this conspiracy. A count of Saxony, called Henry, and an archbishop of Cologne undertake to assassinate this Norman duke of Friesland in a conference. The abbot Hugues is appre-

hended in Lorraine on the same pretext, and the custom of putting out eyes is revived upon him.

He had better engaged the Normans with good armies. These, finding themselves attacked by perfidy alone, penetrate from Holland into Flanders, pass the Somme and the Oise without resistance, take and burn Pontoise, and arrive at Paris by land and water. That city, which is now so immense, was then neither large, strong, nor populous. The tower of the great châtelet was not yet entirely built when the Normans appeared. They were obliged to finish it hastily with wood; so that the lower part was of stone and the upper of carpenter's work.

The Parisians, who expected at that time an irruption of the Barbarians, did not abandon the city as heretofore. Odo, or Eudes, count of Paris, whose valor afterwards raised him to the throne of France, put the town in such order as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and served them instead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, carried on the siege with obstinate fury, though not destitute of art. The Normans used the ram to batter the walls, effected a breach, and gave three assaults, which the Parisians sustained with unshaken courage. They had at their head not only Count Eudes, but also their bishop, Goslin, who every day, after having bestowed his benediction, posted himself at the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his belt, and fought in sight of the cross, which he

planted on the rampart. This bishop seems to have had at least as much authority in the city as Count Eudes, seeing it was to him that Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, first addressed himself for permission to enter Paris. This prelate died of fatigue in the middle of the siege, leaving his memory respected and regretted, for, though he armed those hands which his religion reserved solely for the ministry of the altar, he armed them in defence of that very altar, and of his countrymen, in the justest of all causes, namely, necessary self-preservation, which is always above the laws.

His brethren were armed only in civil wars, and against Christians. Perhaps, if canonization is due to some men, it would have been better to raise that prelate to heaven, who fought and died for his country, than a great many obscure men, whose virtue, if they had any, was useless to the world.

886 — The Normans kept Paris besieged a whole year and a half. The Parisians experienced all the horrors attending famine and contagion in a long siege, and still were unshaken. At the end of that period, the emperor Charles the Gross, king of France, came at length to their relief, and appeared on the mount of Mars, now called Montmartre, but he dared not attack the Normans. He came only to buy another shameful truce. Those barbarians quit Paris to go and besiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy, while Charles goes to Germany to assemble

those diets which deprived him of a throne of which he was so unworthy.

The Normans continue their devastations, but, although enemies of the Christian name, it never came into their minds to force any person whatever to renounce Christianity. They resembled the Franks, the Goths, the Alani, the Huns, the Heruli, who, in the fourth century, being in quest of new settlements, far from imposing their religion upon the conquered Romans, adopted with great ease the religion of the vanquished. Thus the Turks, while they plundered the empire of the caliphs, submitted themselves to the Mahometan religion.

887 — There was nothing wanting to Charles the Gross, but to be unhappy in his family. Contemned in the empire, he was said to be likewise despised by his empress, Richarda. She was accused of infidelity, and he repudiated her, although she offered to justify herself by the judgment of God. He sent her to the abbey of Andelau, which she herself had founded, in Alsace.

Charles was afterwards prevailed upon — contrary to the custom of the times — to adopt the son of his enemy, Boson, that king of Arles. By that time his brain is said to have been affected, and certainly it was, seeing that, although he possessed as many dominions as Charlemagne, he brought himself to such a pass as to lose all without making any resistance. He is dethroned in a diet near Mentz.

888 — The deposition of Charles the Gross is a spectacle which merits great attention. Was he deposed by those who had elected him? Could a few Thuringian, Saxon, and Bavarian noblemen, assembled in a village called Tribur, dispose of the Roman Empire and the kingdom of France? No, surely, but they could renounce their allegiance to a prince, to a chief, who did not deserve to reign. They therefore abandon the grandson of Charlemagne for a bastard of Carloman, son of Louis the Germanic. This bastard, called Arnold, they declare king of Germany. Charles the Gross dies destitute near Constance, January 8, 888.

The fate of Italy, France, and so many other states was then uncertain.

The right of succession was everywhere little regarded. Charles the Gross himself had been crowned king of France, to the prejudice of a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, and in contempt of the rights of that same son, the French noblemen chose for their king Eudes, count of Paris.

One Rudolph, son of another count of Paris, makes himself king of Transjurane Burgundy.

This son of Boson, king of Arles, adopted by Charles the Gross, becomes king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother.

The empire was now no more than a phantom; nevertheless, they were desirous of seizing that phantom, which the name of Charlemagne still rendered venerable. This pretended empire, which

took the appellation of Roman, ought to have been bestowed at Rome. One Guy, duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius, duke of Friuli, disputed the name and rank of the Cæsars. Guy of Spoleto caused him to be crowned at Rome. Berengarius assumes the vain title of King of Italy, and by a singularity worthy of the confusion of those times, comes to Langres, in order to be crowned king of Italy, in Champagne.

It was in the midst of these troubles that all the noblemen cantoned themselves. Every man fortified his own castle; great part of the towns are altogether without government; troops of banditti scour the country from one end of Europe to the other, and chivalry is established to restrain these robbers and to defend ladies, or carry them off.

889 — Several bishops of France, and the archbishop of Rheims in particular, offer the kingdom of France to the bastard Arnold, because he was descended from Charlemagne, and they hated Eudes, who had none of that blood, except by the female side.

Eudes, king of France, goes to wait upon Arnold at Worms, cedes to him part of Lorraine, which was already in Arnold's possession, promises to acknowledge him as emperor, and puts into his hands the crown and sceptre of France, which he had brought with him for that purpose. Arnold restores them, and acknowledges him king of France. This submission proves that the kings still considered themselves as vassals of the Roman Empire. It likewise

proves how much Eudes was afraid of the party which Arnold had in France.

890-891 — The reign of Arnold in Germany is marked by unlucky events. The remains of the Saxons, intermingled with Slavs called Abodrites, inhabiting the districts towards the Baltic, between the Elbe and the Oder, ravage the north of Germany; the Bohemians, the Moravians, and other bodies of the Slavs, desolate the South, and defeat the troops of Arnold; the Huns make incursions; the Normans renew their ravages; yet no conquest is established by so many invasions. These, though transient devastations, leave Germany in a very poor and miserable condition.

At length, he in person defeats the Normans near Louvain, and Germany breathes freely. The decay of Charlemagne's empire emboldens the feeble empire of the East. A patrician of Constantinople retakes the duchy of Beneventum with some troops, and threatens Rome, but as the Greeks were obliged to defend themselves against the Saracens, the conqueror of Beneventum could not march to the ancient capital of the empire.

We have seen what reason Eudes, king of France, had to lay his crown at the feet of Arnold. It was his business to be well with all the world. The noblemen and bishops of France restore the crown to Charles the Simple, posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, whom they invite from England, whither he had fled for refuge.

893 — As in these divisions King Eudes had implored the protection of Arnold, Charles the Simple comes to implore it in his turn at the Diet of Worms. Arnold takes no step in his favor, but leaves him to dispute the kingdom of France, and marches into Italy, there to dispute the name of emperor with Guy of Spoleto, Lombardy with Berengarius, and Rome with the pope.

894 — He besieges Pavia, in which was that emperor of Spoleto, who betakes himself to flight. He secures Lombardy. Berengarius conceals himself, but even at that time we see how difficult it was for the emperors to make themselves masters of Rome. Arnold, instead of marching to that capital, goes and holds a council at Mentz.

895 — Arnold, after this council, which was held with a view to conciliate the bishops, holds a diet at Worms, in order to procure fresh troops and money, and that his son Zuentibold might be crowned king of Lombardy.

896 — He returns towards Rome. The Romans no longer desire an emperor, but they are incapable of defending themselves. Arnold attacks that part of the city called Leonini — from the name of that famous pontiff, Leo IV., who had surrounded it with walls — and forces the place. The rest of the city, on the other side of the Tiber, surrenders, and Pope Formosa consecrates Arnold emperor in the church of St. Peter. The senators — for there was still a senate — next day take the oath

of allegiance to him in the church of St. Paul. It was the old equivocal oath: "I swear I will be faithful to the emperor, saving my fidelity to the pope."

ARNOLD.

EIGHTH EMPEROR.

896 — A woman of great courage, called Agiltrude, mother of that pretended emperor, Guy of Spoleto, who had in vain armed Rome against Arnold, defends herself still against him. He besieges her in the city of Ferno. Authors pretend that this heroine sent him a poisoned beverage, in order to soften his disposition, and that he was weak enough to drink it. It is incontestable that he raised the siege; that he was sick; that he repassed the Alps with the wreck of his army; that he left Italy in greater confusion than ever; and that he returned to Germany, where he had lost all his authority in his absence.

897-899 — Germany was then in the same anarchy as France: the noblemen had fortified themselves in Lorraine, Alsace, the country now called Saxony, Bavaria, and Franconia: the bishop and abbots seize the rights of regality: they maintain protectors or captains, who swear fealty to them, and have lands for their service, and these sometimes protect and sometimes plunder them. They were formerly the advocates of the monasteries;

and when the convents became principalities, the protectors became noblemen.

The bishops and abbots of Italy were never on the same footing: first, because the Italian noblemen had more address, the cities were more powerful, and richer than the hamlets of Germany and France; and, lastly, because the Church of Rome, though very ill conducted, would not suffer the other churches of Italy to be powerful.

Chivalry and the spirit of chivalry spreads over all the West. There is hardly any suit decided but by champions: the priests bless their arms; and they are always obliged to swear, before they engage, that their arms are not enchanted, and that they have not made any compact with the devil.

Arnold, the emperor, destitute of power, dies in Bavaria in the year 899. Some authors make him die of poison, others of lousiness; but lousiness is a chimera, and so is often the notion of poison.

900 — Confusion increases. Berengarius reigns in Lombardy, though in the midst of factions. That son of Boson made king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother, is by the same intrigues acknowledged emperor at Rome. Women then disposed of everything: they made emperors and popes, who, however, had nothing but the name.

Louis IV. is acknowledged king of Germany: to this he joins Lorraine after the death of his brother Zuentibold, and is very little stronger for the acquisition.

901-907 — The Huns and Hungarians reunited, come and ravage Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, where one would think there was very little more to be got.

One Moimir, who had made himself duke of Moravia and a Christian, goes to Rome to demand bishops.

One Adelbert, marquis of Tuscany, famous for his wife Theodora, is despotic in Rome. Berengarius strengthens himself in Lombardy; makes an alliance with the Huns, in order to hinder the new king of Germany from coming to Italy; makes war on the pretended emperor of Arles; takes him prisoner; puts out his eyes; enters Rome, and compels Pope John IX. to crown him emperor. The pope, after having consecrated him, flies to Ravenna, and consecrates another emperor, called Lambert, son of the vagrant and needy duke of Spoleto, who assumes the title of Invincible and always August.

908-912 — Meanwhile Louis IV., king of Germany, takes also the title of emperor: several authors give him the title; but Sigebert says, on account of the evils which in his time harassed Italy, he did not deserve the imperial benediction; the true reason is, that he was not powerful enough to cause himself to be acknowledged emperor: he had no share in the troubles which harassed Italy in his time.

LOUIS IV.

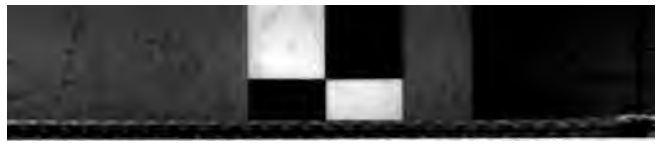
NINTH EMPEROR.

In the reign of this strange emperor, Germany undergoes the most dismal desolation. The Huns, hired by Berengarius to come and ravage Germany, are afterwards hired by Louis IV. to return to their own country. Two factions arise, headed by the dukes of Saxony and Franconia, and do more mischief than the Huns. All the churches are plundered: the Hungarians return to have a share of the pillage. The emperor Louis flies to Ratisbon, where he dies in the twentieth year of his age. Thus ended the race of Charlemagne in Germany.

CONRAD I.

TENTH EMPEROR.

912 — The German nobles assemble at Worms to elect a king. These were such as being the most interested in the choice of a prince, according to their mind, had power and credit enough to raise themselves to the rank of electors. The right of inheritance was, during this century, hardly acknowledged in Europe. Election, either free or influenced, prevailed almost everywhere; witness those of Arnold in Germany, of Guy of Spoleto, of Berengarius in Italy, of Don Sancho in Aragon, of Eudes, Robert, Raoul, Hugh Capet in France,



and of the emperors of Constantinople; for so many vassals and so many princes were desirous of having the right to choose a chief, and the hope of being chosen.

It is pretended that Otho, duke of the new Saxony, was chosen by the Diet, but that finding himself too old, he himself proposed Conrad, duke of Franconia, though he was his own enemy, because he thought him worthy of the throne. This action is not at all in the spirit of those almost savage times. We find ambition, deceit, and courage in this as in all ages; but to begin even from Clovis, we find not one action of magnanimity.

Conrad was never acknowledged emperor either in Italy or France. The Germans, only accustomed to see emperors in their kings since Charlemagne, gave him, it is said, that title.

913-919 — The reign of Conrad makes no alteration in the state of Germany. He has wars with his vassals, and particularly with the son of that duke of Saxony to whom he is said to have owed the crown.

The Hungarians still make war on Germany, and Conrad is wholly engrossed in repulsing them. During this period the French make themselves masters of Lorraine. If Charles had made that conquest, he would not have deserved the name of Simple; but he had ministers and generals of another stamp. He creates a duke of Lorraine.

The bishops of Germany confirm themselves in

the possession of their fiefs. Conrad dies in the year 919 in the little town of Weilburg. It is pretended that before his death he named Henry, duke of Saxony, for his successor, to the prejudice of his own brother. It is not very likely that he should think he had a right to choose a successor, or that he would have chosen his own enemy.

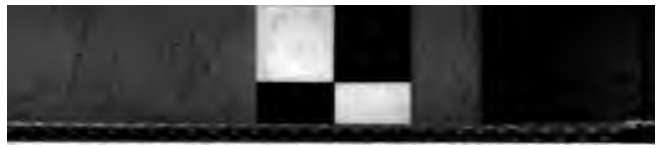
The name of this pretended emperor was not known in Italy, during his reign. Lombardy became a prey to divisions, Rome to the most horrible scandal, and Naples and Sicily to the devastations of the Saracens.

It was at this time that the prostitute Theodora at Rome raised to the papal chair John X., who was as great a prostitute as herself.

HENRY THE FOWLER.

ELEVENTH EMPEROR.

920 — It may be of consequence to observe, that in this time of anarchy, several hamlets of Germany began to enjoy the rights of natural liberty, after the example of the Italian cities. Some purchased these rights of their lords, others had supported them sword in hand. The deputies of these towns concur with the bishops and noblemen, in order to choose an emperor, and are in the rank of electors. Thus Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, duke of Saxony, is elected by the three estates. Nothing



is more natural than that all those who are concerned in being well governed should concur in establishing the government.

921-930 — One of the rights belonging to the kings of Germany, as well as to the kings of France, was always to fill the vacant bishoprics.

The emperor Henry has a short war with the duke of Bavaria, and puts an end to it by ceding to him the right of appointing bishops in his own dukedom.

These years produce very few events in which the fate of Germany is interested. The most important is the affair of Lorraine. It had been still undecided whether it should belong to Germany or France.

Henry the Fowler subdues Upper and Lower Lorraine in the year 925, and wrests it from the hands of Duke Gisilbert, to whom it had been given by the kings of France. He afterwards restores it to that duke, that it might depend upon Germany. This Lorraine was no other than a dismembered part of the kingdom of Lotharingia. It was Brabant, part of the country of Liège, afterwards disputed by the bishop of Liège, with the lands between Metz and Franche-Comté, disputed also by the bishop of Metz. This country in the sequel returned to France, from which it was afterwards separated again.

Henry enacts laws which are more interesting than the events and revolutions with which history is loaded. He extricates what could be extricated

from the feudal anarchy. Vassals and under-vassals consent to furnish soldiers and corn for their subsistence. He changes into cities the depopulated towns, which the Huns, Bohemians, Moravians, and Normans had laid waste. He builds Brandenburg, Meissen, and Schleswig, where he settles marquises to guard the marches of Germany. He re-establishes the ruined abbeys of Herford and Corbie; and plans several cities, such as Gotha, Herford, and Goslar.

The ancient Saxons, Slavs, Abodrites, and their neighbors, the Vandals, are repulsed. His predecessor, Conrad, had consented to pay a tribute to the Hungarians, and hitherto it was paid by Henry the Fowler, who, in a little time, freed Germany from that disgrace.

930-936 — It is said, that when the Hungarian deputies came to demand their tribute, Henry gave them a mangy dog. It was a punishment inflicted upon German knights, when they had committed crimes, to carry a dog for a league. This coarse custom, worthy of those times, does not at all detract from the greatness of their courage; true it is, the Hungarians come and do more mischief than the tribute would have cost; but at length they are repulsed and defeated.

Then he causes the towns to be fortified, as a check upon the barbarians; and leaves the ninth man in some provinces with which these towns are garrisoned. He exercises the nobility in jousts and a kind of tournaments: in one of these nearly a

thousand gentlemen are said to have entered the lists.

These tournaments had been invented in Italy, by the Lombard kings, and were called *"Batagliole."*

Having provided for the defence of Germany, he resolves at length to go to Italy, after the example of his predecessors, in order to receive the imperial crown.

The troubles and scandalous practices of Rome were increased. Marosia, daughter of Theodora, had raised to St. Peter's chair the young John XI., produced by her adultery with Pope Sergius III., and governed the Church in the name of her son. Of all the tyrants that overwhelmed Italy the Germans were most hated by Rome.

Henry the Fowler, relying upon his forces, thought to have taken advantage of those troubles; but he died upon the road, in Thuringia, in the year 936. The only reason for calling him emperor, is because he was desirous of receiving the imperial throne, and it was the custom to give him that appellation.

OTHO I., SURNAMED THE GREAT.

TWELFTH EMPEROR.

936 — At length we come to a true emperor. The dukes, counts, bishops, abbots, and all the powerful noblemen assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, elect Otho, son of Henry the Fowler. It is not mentioned that the deputies of the towns gave their votes. Perhaps

OTHO THE GREAT

the great noblemen having gained an acquisition of power, under Henry the Fowler, had deprived the towns of this right.

The archbishop of Mentz signifies this election to the people, consecrates the new emperor, and sets the crown upon his head. It may be observed that the prelates dine at the emperor's table; and that the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine, serve at table; the duke of Franconia, for example, in quality of steward, and the duke of Suabia, as cup-bearer. This ceremony was performed in a wooden gallery, in the midst of the ruins of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been burned by the Huns, and was not yet rebuilt.

The Huns and Hungarians come again to interrupt the festival. They advance to Westphalia, but are repulsed.

937 — Bohemia was then entirely barbarous, and but one half Christian. Luckily for Otho, it is embroiled in civil wars, of which he takes the advantage as soon as possible. He renders Bohemia tributary to Germany, and there establishes Christianity.

938-940 — Otho endeavors to make himself despotic, and the noblemen of the great fiefs to render themselves independent. This great quarrel, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, still exists in the minds of men, after a series of eight hundred years, as well as the quarrel between Rome and the empire.

This struggle between royal power, which always seeks increase, and liberty, which will not yield, has for a long time agitated all the Christian part of Europe. It existed in Spain as long as the Christians had to fight with the Moors, after which the sovereign authority got uppermost. It was this that involved France in troubles, to the middle of the reign of Louis XI.; that has at length established in England the mixed government to which she owes her greatness; and that has cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles and the slavery of the people. The same spirit has troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Switzerland and Holland: and the same cause has everywhere produced different effects.

The duke of Bavaria refusing to do homage, Otho enters that country with an army, and reduces the duke to some allodial territories. He creates one of the duke's brothers count palatine in Bavaria, and another count palatine towards the Rhine. This dignity of count palatine is revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman emperors, and of the Franks.

He bestows the same dignity upon a duke of Franconia. These palatines are at first supreme judges. They judge in the last appeal in the name of the emperor. This supreme resource of justice is, next to an army, the greatest support of sovereignty.

Otho disposes at pleasure of dignities and lands. The first marquis of Brandenburg dying without

issue, he gives the marquisate to one Count Gerard, who was not related to the deceased one.

The more Otho affects absolute power, the more he is opposed by the noblemen of the great fiefs: and from that very time begins the custom of having recourse to France to support the feudal government in Germany against the authority of the German kings.

The dukes of Franconia and Lorraine and the prince of Brunswick address themselves to Louis d'Outremer, king of France, who enters Lorraine and Alsace and joins the allies.

Otho anticipates the French king; and upon the Rhine near Brisach defeats the dukes of Franconia and Lorraine, who are slain in battle.

He deprives the house of Franconia of the title of palatine: settles it upon the house of Bavaria, and annexes to it lands and castles. Thus was formed the present palatinate of the Rhine.

941 — As the German noblemen of the great fiefs had called the king of France to their assistance, the noblemen of France, in like manner, solicit the assistance of Otho. He pursues Louis d'Outremer through the whole country of Champagne; but is recalled into Germany by conspiracies.

942-944 — The despotism of Otho alienates the minds of men to such a degree that his own brother, Henry, duke of one part of Lorraine, had united with several noblemen to deprive him of his throne and life. He returns therefore to Germany, stifles

the conspiracy, and pardons his brother, who was in all probability powerful enough to be entitled to that favor.

He augments the privileges of bishops and abbots, in order to oppose them to the noblemen. He bestows the title of prince, with all the rights of regality, upon the bishop of Trier. He gives the duchy of Bavaria to his brother Henry, who had conspired against him, and leaves the natural heirs quite destitute. This is the greatest proof of his absolute power.

945-946 — At that time the race of Charlemagne, which still reigned in France, was reduced to the lowest state of degradation. They had in 912 ceded Neustria, properly so-called, to the Normans, and even Brittany, which then became an under-fief of France.

Hugues, duke of the Isle of France, of the blood of Charlemagne by the female line, father of Hugh Capet, son-in-law by his first marriage to Edward I., king of England, and brother-in-law of Otho by his second marriage, was one of the most powerful noblemen in Europe, and the king of France at that time one of the most inconsiderable. This Hugh had recalled Louis d'Outremer to crown and serve him, and was called Hugues, or Hugh the Great, because he had made himself powerful at the expense of his master.

He was allied with the Normans, who had made the unfortunate d'Outremer prisoner. That king,

released from captivity, was left almost without towns or territory. He was likewise brother-in-law of Otho, whose sister he had married. He demands his protection, in consequence of ceding all his rights over Lorraine.

Otho marches to the neighborhood of Paris, besieges Rouen, but, being abandoned by the count of Flanders, returns to his own dominions after a fruitless expedition.

947-948 — Otho, being unable to conquer Hugh the Great, causes him to be excommunicated. He convokes a council at Trier, where the pope's legate pronounces the sentence at the desire of Otho's chief almoner. Nevertheless Hugh continues master in France.

There was, we have seen, a margrave at Schleswig, in the Cimbric Chersonesus, to check the incursions of the Danes. They kill this margrave. Otho hastens thither in person, retakes the town, secures the frontiers, and makes peace with Denmark on condition that Christianity should be preached in that country.

949 — Thence Otho goes to hold a council at Ingelheim, near Mentz. Louis d'Outremer, who had no army, demanded this council of Pope Agapetus; a poor resource against Hugh the Great.

There the German bishops and Marini, the pope's legate, appear as judges, Otho as protector, and Louis of France as a suppliant. Louis demands justice, and says: "I have been acknowledged king

by the suffrage of all the noblemen. If it is pretended that I have committed some crime which merits the treatment I suffer, I am ready to take my trial before the council, according to Otho's order, or I will maintain my innocence in single combat."

This miserable address proves the custom of duels, the deplorable condition of the king of France, the power of Otho, and the election of kings. The right of blood seemed then no more than a recommendation to obtain votes. Hugh the Great is summoned to this vain council, although nobody supposed he would appear.

950 — Otho gives the investiture of Suabia, Augsburg, Constance, and Würtemberg, to his son Ludolphus, "saving the rights of the bishops."

951 — Otho returns to Bohemia; defeats the Duke Bol, who is called Bolestaus. The word "*Slas*" among these people signified chief. Hence they were at first called Slavs, which name in the sequel fell to those whom they had conquered. The emperor confirms the vassalage of Bohemia, and there establishes the Christian religion. All beyond was still pagan, except some marches of Germany. From that time he resolved to renew the empire of Charlemagne, and a woman paved the way.

Adelaide, sister of a petty king of Transjurane Burgundy, widow of the king or usurper of the kingdom of Italy, being oppressed by another usurper, Berengarius II., who besieges her in Canossa, calls Otho to her aid. Thither he marches,

delivers, and being then a widower, marries this princess. He enters Pavia in triumph with Adelaide; but it required both time and diligence to subdue the rest of the kingdom, and especially Rome, which would by no means submit to him.

952 — He leaves his army to a prince called Conrad, his own son-in-law, whom he had made duke of Lorraine, and, what was very common in those times, goes to hold a council at Augsburg instead of pursuing his conquests. There were Italian bishops at that council. Perhaps he had no other view in this but to dispose people to receive him in Italy.

953 — His marriage with Adelaide, which ought to have secured him in the possession of Italy, was like to have made him lose it in a very little time.

His son Ludolphus, to whom he had given so many dominions, but who was afraid that his mother-in-law would give him a master, and his son-in-law, Conrad, to whom he had given Lorraine, but from whom he had taken the command in Italy, conspire against him, and archbishop of Mentz and a bishop of Augsburg join these confederates; he marches against his son, and, instead of making himself emperor at Rome, is obliged to maintain a civil war in Germany.

954 — His unnatural son calls the Hungarians to his assistance, and it costs him abundance of trouble to repel them from the banks of the Rhine and the

neighborhood of Cologne, whither they had advanced.

Otho had a brother called Bruno, an ecclesiastic, whom he procures to be elected archbishop of Cologne, and to whom he gives Lorraine.

955 — The arms of Otho prevail. His sons and their adherents ask pardon. The archbishop of Mentz returns to his duty. The king's son deviates from it again. At length he comes barefoot and throws himself at his father's feet. The Hungarians whom he called in, far from following his example in asking forgiveness, lay waste the country. Otho gives them battle and defeats them at Augsburg. He seems to have been strong enough to defeat, but not to pursue and destroy them, although his army was composed of legions formed after the model of the ancient Roman legions.

The fears of the son of Otho are realized. Adelaide is delivered of a prince, who is Otho II.

956-960 — The designs upon Rome ripen, but the affairs of Germany prevent their being disclosed. The Slavs and other barbarians deluge the north of Germany, as yet but very ill secured in spite of all the cares of Otho. Inconsiderable wars towards Luxemburg and Hainault, which belonged to Lower Lorraine, continue still to employ his arms.

Ludolphus, that son of Otho who was sent into Italy against Berengarius, dies in that country, either of the plague or of poison.

Berengarius was then absolute master of the

ancient kingdom of Lombardy, though not at Rome. But he necessarily had a thousand quarrels with her, like the ancient Lombard kings.

A son of Marosia, called Octavian Sporco, was elected pope at the age of eighteen, by the credit of his family. He takes the name of John XII., in memory of his uncle, John XI. This is the first pope who changed his name at his accession to the pontificate. He was not even in orders when his family made him pontiff. He was a young man who lived like a prince and was a lover of arms and pleasure.

It is surprising that, under so many scandalous popes, the Roman church lost neither her prerogatives nor pretensions; but at that time almost all the other churches were governed in this manner. The bishops having always something to ask of Rome, either orders or favors, did not abandon their interest for a few scandalous practices more than usual, and it was their interest to be always united to the Roman church, because that union made them more respected by the people, and more considerable in the eyes of the sovereigns. The clergy of Italy might then despise the popes, but they revered the papacy the more, as they aspired to that exalted station. Finally, in the opinion of mankind, the place was sacred even when the person was damnable.

The Italians at length call Otho to their assistance. They wanted, says Luitprand, a contemporary writer, to have two masters, that they might

not have one in reality. This is one of the principal causes of the long miseries of Italy.

960 — Otho, before he sets out for Italy, takes care to have his son Otho, born of Adelaide, though but in the seventh year of his age, elected king of Germany — a new proof that the right of succession did not exist. He takes the precaution of causing him to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, and Trier, assembled for that purpose. The archbishop of Cologne performs the function first. This was Bruno, the brother of Otho.

961 — He passes the Alps of the Tyrol; once more enters Pavia, which always falls to the first occupier, and receives the crown of Lombardy at Monza.

962 — While Berengarius flies with his family, Otho marches to Rome, and the gates are opened to him. John XII. crowns him emperor. He confirms the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Weak. He takes the pope's oath of allegiance on the body of St. Peter and ordains that there shall be commissaries of the emperor at Rome.

This instrument, written in letters of gold, subscribed by seven bishops of Germany, five counts, two abbots, and several Italian prelates, is still kept in the castle of St. Angelo. The date is February 13, 962. Lotharius, king of France, and Hugh Capet, afterwards king, are said to have been present at this coronation. These kings of France were

indeed so weak that they might have served as ornaments at the consecration of an emperor, but the names of Lotharius and Hugh Capet are not found in the signatures of this act.

All that was then done at Rome concerning the churches of Germany was to erect Magdeburg into an archbishop's fee, and Merseburg into a bishopric for the conversion of the Slavs, that is, the people who inhabited Moravia, part of Brandenburg, Silesia, etc.

Scarce had the pope given himself a master when he repented of what he had done. He leagues with that famed Berengarius, who had fled for refuge among the Mahometans cantoned upon the coast of Provence, and solicits the Hungarians to enter Germany. This was the step he should have taken before.

963 — The Emperor Otho, having finished the conquest of Lombardy, returns to Rome. He assembles a council. Pope John XII. hides himself. He is accused in full council in the church of St. Peter of having committed fornication with several women, particularly with one called Etienetta, his father's concubine; of having conferred the bishopric of Lodi upon a child of ten years; of having sold ordinations and benefices; of having put out the eyes of his godfather; of having first castrated and then put to death a cardinal, and lastly of not believing in Jesus Christ and of having invoked the devil; two articles that seem to contradict one another.

This young pontiff, who was then but seven and twenty, was said to be deposed for his incests and scandalous practices; but the true reason was his having endeavored, like all the Romans, to destroy the German power in Rome.

A new pope, called Leo VIII., is elected in his room. Otho was not able to secure the person of John XII., or, if he was, he committed a great error.

964 — The new pope, Leo VIII., if we may believe the discourse of Arnold, bishop of Orleans, was neither an ecclesiastic, nor even a Christian.

John XII., a debauched pope, but an enterprising prince, excites an insurrection of the Romans from the recesses of his retreat, and while Otho goes to besiege Camerino the pontiff, assisted by his mistress, re-enters Rome. He deposes his competitor, orders the right hand of Cardinal John to be cut off because it had written the deposition against him, opposes council to council, and enacts a statute importing that "an inferior shall never have power to deprive his superior of his rank;" or, in other words, that no emperor shall ever have power to depose a pope. He flatters himself with the hope of driving the Germans from Italy; but, in the midst of his great design, he is assassinated in the embraces of one of his mistresses.

He had animated the Romans and raised their courage to such a pitch that even after his death they ventured to support a siege, and did not surrender to Otho until reduced to the last extremity.

Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, orders it to be declared in council that "after the example of the blessed Adrian, who gave to Charlemagne the right of electing popes and investing all bishops, the same rights were given to the Emperor Otho." This title, still extant in Gratian's collection, is suspected, but that which is not suspected is the great care the victorious emperor took to secure himself in the possession of all his rights.

After so many oaths, the emperors ought to have resided at Rome to enforce the observation of them.

965 — He returns to Germany. He finds all Lorraine in rebellion against his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who at that time governed in Lorraine. He is obliged to abandon Trier, Metz, Toul, and Verdun to their respective bishops. Upper Lorraine falls into the hands of the count of Bar, and this country alone is what we now call Lorraine. Bruno reserves no more than the provinces of the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt. This Bruno was a learned man, as much detached from grandeur as his brother, Otho, the emperor, was ambitious.

The house of Luxemburg takes that name from the castle of Luxemburg, which they receive in exchange from an abbot of St. Maximin in Trier.

The Poles begin to embrace Christianity.

966 — Scarce was the Emperor Otho returned to Germany when the Romans resolved to be free.

They expel Pope John XIII., who was attached to the emperor. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes, and the senate think to revive the ancient republic. But that which at one time was an enterprise of heroes, at another season becomes a seditious insurrection. Otho flies back to Italy and orders one-half of the senate to be hanged. The prefect of Rome, who wanted to be another Brutus, was scourged in the public street, carried in procession naked upon an ass, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died in extreme misery. These executions do not at all recommend the German government to the Italians.

967 — The emperor sends for his young son, Otho, to Rome, and associates him in the empire.

968 — He negotiates with Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of the Greeks, a match between his own son and that emperor's daughter. The Greek deceives him, and Otho deprives him of Apulia and Calabria by way of dower to the young Princess Theophania, whom, however, he has not in his power.

969 — To this year almost all the chronologists place the adventure of Otho, archbishop of Mentz, who was besieged in a tower in the middle of the Rhine by an army of mice that swam the river and devoured him. Probably those who still load history with such childish trifles have no other design than that of leaving upon record those ancient monuments of weak superstition to show from what darkness Europe is scarce delivered.

970 — John Zimisses, who dethrones the Emperor

Nicephorus, sends at length the Princess Theophania to Otho, for his son. Almost all authors agree that Otho had Apulia and Calabria with that princess, but the learned and exact Giannoni has proved that he never received that rich dower.

971-973 — Otho returns victorious to Saxony, which was his native country.

The duke of Bohemia, vassal of the empire, invades Moravia, which becomes an appendage to Bohemia.

A bishop is established at Prague. He is nominated by the duke of Bohemia and consecrated by the archbishop of Mentz.

At that time the archbishops of Magdeburg laid the foundation of their power. The title of metropolitan of the North and their extensive territories were one day to make them great princes.

Otho dies at Minleben, May 7, 973, with the glory of having re-established the empire of Charlemagne in Italy. But Charles was the avenger of Rome; Otho, the conqueror and oppressor; nor had his empire such vast and firm foundations as that of Charlemagne.

OTHO II.

THIRTEENTH EMPEROR.

974 — It plainly appears that emperors and kings were now made by election. Otho II., having been already elected emperor and king of Germany, contents himself with being proclaimed at Magdeburg

by the clergy and nobility of the country, which composed a middling assembly.

The despotism of the father, the fear of absolute power perpetuated in one family, but, above all, the ambition of Henry, duke of Bavaria, Otho's cousin, induces one-third of Germany to rebel.

Henry of Bavaria causes himself to be crowned emperor by the bishop of Frisingen. Poland and Denmark espouse his party, not as members of Germany and the empire, but as neighbors whose interest it was to disturb its peace.

975 — The party of Otho II. is the first that arms, and by this diligence he preserves the empire. His troops surmount the entrenchments which separated Denmark from Germany, and which serve no other purpose than that of demonstrating the weakness of that nation.

He enters Bohemia, which had declared for Henry of Bavaria; he marches to the duke of Poland, who is said to have taken the oath of allegiance to Otho as a vassal.

It is to be observed that all these oaths were taken on the knee, with the hands joined together, and thus the bishops administered the oath to kings.

976 — Henry of Bavaria, being abandoned, is imprisoned at Quedlinburg, and thence exiled to Elric with the bishop of Augsburg, who was his partisan.

977 — The limits of Germany and France were then very uncertain. There was no longer any men-

tion made of Eastern and Western France. The kings of Germany extended their territorial superiority as far as the confines of Champagne and Picardy. By territorial superiority we must not understand a direct dominion or possession of lands, but the superiority of the lands, the right of paramount and of fine. In the sequel, this expression of territorial superiority has, by mere ignorance of the terms, been applied to the actual possession of the domains which are held by the empire, which is, on the contrary, a territorial inferiority.

The dukes of Lorraine, Brabant, and Hainault had done homage for their lands to the last kings of Germany. Lotharius, king of France, revives his pretensions to these countries. The royal authority began to be a little vigorous in France at this time, and Lotharius took advantage of the conjuncture to attack at once Upper and Lower Lorraine.

978 — Otho assembles nearly sixty thousand men, ravages all Champagne, and penetrates even to Paris. At that time they neither knew how to fortify the frontiers, nor to make war in the open country. Military expeditions were no more than ravages.

Otho, in his return, is defeated in crossing the river Ain. Geoffrey, count of Anjou, surnamed Grisegonnelle, pursues him without ceasing in the forest of Ardennes, and proposes, according to the rules of chivalry, to decide the quarrel by single combat. The emperor refuses the challenge, either

because he thought it was beneath his dignity to fight hand to hand with Grisegonnelle, or because, being cruel, he wanted courage.

979 — The emperor and king of France make peace, in consequence of which Charles, brother of Lotharius, receives Lower Lorraine from the emperor, together with part of Upper Lorraine. He does homage to him on his knees, and this submission is said to have cost his posterity the kingdom of France; at least Hugh Capet made use of that pretext to make him odious.

980 — While Otho II. strengthened himself in Germany, the Romans had endeavored to shake off the German yoke. One Cencius was declared consul, and he and his party had made a pope whose name was Boniface VII. A count of Toscanella, who was an enemy to his faction, had elected another pope, and Boniface VII. had gone to Constantinople to invite the Greek emperors, Basilius and Constantine, to come and retake Rome. The Greek emperors were not strong enough for such an enterprise. To them the pope joined the Arabians of Africa, choosing to make Rome Mahometan rather than German. The Christian Greeks and Mussulman Africans unite their squadrons, and together take possession of the country of Naples.

Otho II. repairs to Italy and marches to Rome.

981 — As Rome was divided, he found immediate admission. He lodges in the pope's palace, invites several senators and the partisans of Cencius to

dinner. Soldiers enter during the repast and murder the guests. This was renewing the times of Marius, and this was all that remained of ancient Rome. But is the fact really true? Geoffrey of Viterbo relates it two hundred years after it is supposed to have happened.

982 — After this bloody feast it is necessary to march into Apulia to fight the Greeks and Saracens, who came to revenge and serve the city of Rome. He had a number of Italian troops in his army, and they were good for nothing but treason.

The Germans are entirely defeated. The bishop of Augsburg and abbot of Fulda are killed fighting in the field of battle. The emperor escapes in disguise and embarks as a passenger in a Greek vessel. This vessel sails near Capua; the emperor throws himself into the sea, swims ashore, and takes refuge in Capua.

983 — Things were now on the brink of a great revolution. The Germans had well nigh lost all Italy; the Greeks and Mussulmans were going to quarrel about Rome; but Capua is still fatal to the conquerors of the Romans. The Greeks and the Arabians cannot agree. Their army is inconsiderable. They give Otho time to reassemble the wreck of his troops and to declare his son Otho, who was but ten years old, emperor at Verona.

One Otho, duke of Bavaria, had been killed in the battle. Bavaria is given to his son. The emperor marches by Rome with his new army.

After having sacked the infidel Beneventum, he causes his chancellor of Italy to be elected pope. One would imagine he would have marched against the Greeks and Arabians. No such matter: he holds a council. All these circumstances plainly show that his army was weak, that the conquerors were as weak, and the Romans weaker than either. Instead of going to fight, therefore, he confirms the erection of Hamburg and Bremen into an archbishop's see; he makes regulations for Saxony, and dies in Rome, September 7, without glory, although he leaves his son emperor. The Greeks and Saracens retreat, after having ruined Apulia and Calabria, made as bad a figure in war as Otho, and raised the whole country against them.

OTHO III.

FOURTEENTH EMPEROR.

983 — How should Germany acknowledge an emperor and king of the Romans who was but ten years old, acknowledged only at Verona, and whose father was defeated by the Saracens? That same Henry of Bavaria who had disputed the crown with the father escapes from the prison of Maestricht, in which he was confined, and under pretence of acting as tutor to his cousin, the young emperor Otho III., secures his person and conducts him to Magdeburg.

984 — Germany is divided into two factions. Henry of Bavaria is supported by Bohemia and

Poland, but the greater part of the lords of the great fiefs, and the bishops, hoping to be more their own masters under a prince of ten years of age, oblige Henry to set the young Otho at liberty and acknowledge him as emperor, in consideration of which he is at last reinstated in the possession of Bavaria.

Otho III. is then solemnly proclaimed at Weissenstadt.

He is served at dinner by the great officers of the empire. Henry of Bavaria performs the office of steward, count palatine of great cup-bearer, the duke of Saxony of great master of the horse, the duke of Franconia of great chamberlain. The dukes of Bohemia and Poland are present as great vassals.

The education of the emperor is committed to the care of the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Ildesheim.

During these troubles Lotharius, king of France, attempts to retake Upper Lorraine, and makes himself master of Verdun.

986 — After the death of Lotharius, Verdun is restored to Germany.

987 — Louis V., the last king in France of the race of Charlemagne, dying in the second year of his reign, Charles, duke of Lorraine, his uncle and heir of blood, in vain pretends to the crown of France. Hugh Capet, by his power and address, proves that the right of election was then in force.

988 — The abbot of Verdun obtains at Cologne permission to go without a sword, and refuses to

command in person the soldiers he owes when the emperor raises forces.

Otho III. confirms all the privileges of the bishops and abbots. Their privilege and their duty was then to wear the sword, seeing the abbot of Verdun had occasion to sue for a particular dispensation.

989 — The Danes choose this opportunity to enter by the Elbe and the Weser. They now began to perceive in Germany the necessity of negotiating with Sweden against Denmark, and the bishop of Schleswig is charged with this negotiation.

The Swedes defeat the Danes at sea. The north of Germany has a little respite.

990 — The rest of Germany becomes a prey to feuds between private noblemen, and these feuds, which the sovereigns cannot appease, show that they had more right than power. The case is still worse in Italy.

Pope John XV., son of a priest, at that time possessed the chair and was favorable to the emperor. Crescentius, the new consul, son of the consul Crescentius, whose father was John X., had a mind to maintain the shadow of the ancient republic, and expelled the pope from Rome. The empress Theophania, mother of Otho III., had come with troops, under the command of the marquis of Brandenburg, to maintain the imperial authority in Italy.

While the marquis of Brandenburg is at Rome the Slavs seize his marquisate.

991-996 — The Slavs, with a crew of other bar-

barians, besiege Magdeburg. They are repulsed with difficulty, they retire to Pomerania, and cede some villages of Brandenburg, which extend the marquisate.

Austria was then a marquisate also, and no less unhappy than Brandenburg, being the frontier of the Hungarians.

The emperor's mother had returned from Italy without having been able to appease the troubles of that country, and died at Nimeguen. The cities of Lombardy did not acknowledge the emperor.

Otho III. levies troops; besieges Milan, where he is crowned; elects his relative, Pope Gregory V., as he had elected a bishop of Spires, and is consecrated in Rome by his kinsman, together with his empress, Maria, daughter of Don Garcia, king of Aragon and Castile.

997 — It is strange that the modern authors, Maimbourg, and so many others, should still relate the fable of the amours of this empress with a count of Modena, and the punishment of the gallant and his mistress. It is pretended that the emperor, being more incensed against the mistress than the gallant, ordered his wife to be burned alive, and only condemned his rival to lose his head; and that the count's widow, having proved her husband's innocence, had four fine castles by way of indemnity. This fable had already been invented upon one Andaberta, the wife of Emperor Louis II. These

are romances, the falsity of which is proved by the sage and learned Muratori.

The emperor, acknowledged at Rome, returns to Germany; finds the Slavs masters of Bernburg, and deprives the archbishop of Magdeburg of the government of that country, because he had allowed himself to be defeated by the Slavs.

998 — While Otho III. is employed against the barbarians of the North, the consul Crescentius at Rome expels Gregory V., by whom he is excommunicated at Pavia, and Otho repairs to Italy in order to punish the consul.

Crescentius sustains a siege in Rome, which, however, he surrenders in a few days, and retires into Adrian's Mole, then called The Mole of Crescentius, and now The Castle of St. Angelo. There he dies fighting, though the manner of his death is not known; but he seems to have deserved the name of consul, which he bore. The emperor takes his widow for a mistress, and by his orders the pope nominated by Crescentius has his tongue and eyes pulled out. But, indeed, Otho and his mistress are said to have done penance, to have gone in pilgrimage to a monastery, and even to have lain upon a rush mat.

999 — He makes a decree by which the Germans only shall have the right to elect a Roman emperor, and the popes shall be obliged to crown him. Gregory V., his relative, did not fail to sign this decree, and the following popes to reject it.

1000 — Otho returns to Saxony, and passes into Poland. He bestows the title of king upon the duke, but not upon his descendants. We shall see that the emperors created kings and dukes by brevet. Boleslaus receives the crown from him, does homage to the empire, and obliges himself to pay a slight annual service.

Pope Sylvester II., some years after, conferred the same title upon him, pretending that none but the pope had a right to bestow it. It is very strange that one sovereign should demand a title from another, but custom makes everything familiar. Historians say that Otho, going afterwards to Aix-la-Chapelle, ordered the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, and found that emperor, still undecayed, sitting upon a throne of gold with a crown of precious stones upon his head and a great golden sceptre in his hand. If Charlemagne had been interred in this manner, the Normans, who destroyed Aix-la-Chapelle, would not have left him upon his throne of gold.

1001 — The Greeks then abandoned the country of Naples, but the Saracens often repeated their visits. The emperor repasses the Alps in order to put a stop to their progress and that of the defenders of the Italian liberty, more dangerous than the Saracens.

1002 — The Romans besiege his palace in Rome, and all he can do is to fly with the pope and his mistress, the widow of Crescentius. He dies at

Paterno, a small town of the Campagna of Rome, nearly thirty years of age. Several authors say he was poisoned by his mistress because he would not make her empress, others that he was poisoned by the Romans, who wanted no emperor. This fact may be probable, but it is not at all proved. His death left as undecided as ever that long struggle of the papacy against the empire, of the Romans against both, and of the Italian liberty against the German power. This is what keeps Europe always attentive; this is the clue that conducts us through the labyrinth of the history of Germany.

Those three Othos, who re-established the empire, have all three besieged Rome and filled the streets with blood, and Arnold had sacked it before their time.

1003 — Otho III. left no children. Twenty noblemen pretend to the empire. One of the most powerful was Henry, duke of Bavaria, and the most obstinate of his rivals was Eckard, marquis of Thuringia. The marquis is assassinated to facilitate the election of the Bavarian, who, at the head of an army, causes himself to be consecrated at Mentz, July 19.

HENRY II.

FIFTEENTH EMPEROR.

1003 — Scarcely is Henry of Bavaria crowned when he causes Herman, duke of Suabia and Alsace, who was his competitor, to be declared an enemy to

the empire. He engages Strasburg in his interest. It was already a powerful city. He ravages Suabia, marches into Saxony, exacts the oath of allegiance from the duke of Saxony, the archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen, the counts palatine, and even Boleslaus, king of Poland. He is acknowledged by the Slavs who inhabit Pomerania.

He marries Cunegonda, daughter of the first count of Luxemburg; he makes a progress through the provinces; receives the homage of the bishops of Liège and Cambray, who take the oath upon their knees. At last he is acknowledged by the duke of Saxony, who, like the rest, takes the oath.

The efforts of the Italian weakness against the German government are incessantly renewed. A certain Marquis de Ivrea, called Ardouin, attempts to make himself king of Italy. He is elected by the noblemen, and takes the title of Cæsar. Then the archbishops of Milan began to pretend that a king of Lombardy could not be made without their consent, as the popes pretended that an emperor could not be made without theirs. Arnolphus, archbishop of Milan, addresses himself to King Henry, for it was always the Italians who invited the Germans, whom they could neither bear with, nor be without.

Henry sends troops to Italy under Otho, duke of Carinthia. King Ardouin defeats these troops near the Tyrol. The emperor Henry could not leave Germany, where he was detained by troubles of another nature.

1004 — The new Christian king of Poland takes advantage of the weakness of Boleslaus, duke of Bohemia; makes himself master of his dominions, and puts out his eyes, conforming himself to the practice of the Christian emperors of the East and West. He takes all Bohemia, Meissen and Lusatia. Henry II. contents himself with demanding that he will do him homage for the dominions he has invaded. The king of Poland laughs at the demand, and engages in an alliance with several princes of Germany against Henry, who, therefore, is resolved to preserve Germany before he goes to oppose the new Cæsar of Italy.

1005 — He reconciles himself to the bishops, negotiates with the noblemen, levies soldiers, and disconcerts the association.

The Hungarians began to embrace Christianity through the care of the missionaries, whose sole aim is to extend their religion, while that of princes is to extend their dominions.

Stephen, chief of the Hungarians, who had married the sister of Henry, the emperor, becomes a Christian about this time, and, luckily for Germany, makes war with his Christian Hungarians against the idolatrous Hungarians.

The Church of Rome, which had allowed itself to be anticipated by the emperors in the nomination of a king of Poland, is beforehand with them in regard to Hungary. Pope John XIX. confers upon Stephen of Hungary the title of king and apostle,

with the right of having the cross carried before him like the archbishops, and Hungary is divided into ten bishoprics much better filled with idolaters than with Christians.

The archbishop of Milan presses Henry II. to come to Italy against his king, Ardouin. Accordingly Henry sets out for that country by the way of Bavaria, the states or parliament of which are then electing a duke, and Henry of Luxemburg, the emperor's brother-in-law, is unanimously chosen — an important fact, which shows the rights of the people were reckoned of some consideration.

Henry, before he passed the Alps, leaves his wife, Cunegonda, in the hands of the archbishop of Magdeburg. It is pretended that he had made a vow of chastity with her; a vow of imbecility in an emperor.

He is no sooner in the neighborhood of Verona than the Cæsar Ardouin betakes himself to flight. We always see the kings of Italy when the Germans are not there; but as soon as these set foot in Italy, the kings are seen no more.

Henry is crowned at Pavia. There they conspire against his life. He stifles the conspiracy, and after abundance of bloodshed pardons the conspirators.

He does not go to Rome, but, according to the custom of his predecessors, quits Italy with all possible despatch.

1006 — It is always the fate of the German princes to be recalled by troubles at home when they might secure their dominions in Italy.

He goes to defend the Bohemians against the Poles. Being received in Prague, he gives the investiture of the duchy of Bohemia to Jaromir. He passes the Oder, pursues the Poles into their own country, and makes peace with them.

He builds Bamberg, and there founds a bishopric, but he gives the feudal lordship to the pope. He is said to have reserved to himself no more than the right of lodging in the castle.

He assembles a council at Frankfort upon the Main, solely on account of this new bishopric of Bamberg, which the bishop of Würzburg opposes as a dismembering of his bishopric. The emperor prostrates himself before the bishops. They discuss the rights of Bamberg and Würzburg without coming to any agreement.

1007 — The Prussians or Borussians begin to be talked of. They were barbarians who lived upon horses' blood, inhabiting latterly the deserts between Poland and the Baltic. They are said to have worshipped serpents. They frequently plundered the territories of Poland. There must have been something to be got among them, seeing the Poles also made incursions into their country.

1008-09 — Otho, duke of Lower Lorraine, the last known descendant of Charlemagne, being dead, Henry II. gives that duchy to Godfrey, count of the Ardennes. This donation is productive of troubles. The duke of Bavaria takes advantage of them to disturb Henry, but is expelled from Bavaria.

1010 — Herman, son of Eckard of Thuringia, receives from Henry II. the marquisate of Meissen.

1011 — War is still carried on with Poland. It is only since she became a feudatory to Germany that Germany has wars with her.

Glogau already existed in Silesia, and is besieged. The Silesians were united with the Poles.

1012 — Henry, fatigued with all these troubles, is desirous of being made canon of Strasburg. He makes a vow to that purpose, and in order to accomplish his vow founds a canonate, the possessor of which is called "King of the Choir." Having laid aside the design of being a canon, he goes to fight the Poles and calms the troubles in Bohemia.

At this period is placed the adventure of Cunegonda, who, being accused of adultery after having made a vow of chastity, proves her innocence by handling red-hot iron. This tale must be ranked with the funeral pile of the empress Mary of Aragon.

1013 — As soon as the emperor quitted Italy Ardouin repossessed himself of it, and the archbishop of Milan incessantly entreats Henry II. to come and reign.

Henry repasses the Alps of Tyrol a second time, and the Slavs seize that very juncture to renounce the little Christianity they knew and ravage the whole territory of Hamburg.

1014 — As soon as the emperor is in the Veronese Ardouin betakes himself to flight. The Romans are

ready to receive Henry. He comes to Rome to be crowned with Cunegonda. Pope Benedict VIII. changes the form. He first asks him on the steps of St. Peter's: "Will you be faithful in all things to me and my successors?" This was a kind of homage which the cunning of the pope extorted from the simplicity of the emperor.

The emperor goes to subdue Lombardy. He passes through Burgundy, visits the abbey of Clugny, and desires to be associated in the community. He afterwards repairs to Verdun, and desires to become a monk in the abbey of St. Vall. It is pretended that the abbot, being wiser than Henry, said to him: "Monks owe obedience to their abbots: I order you to continue emperor."

1015-18 — These years produce nothing but petty wars in Bohemia and on the frontiers of Poland. All that part of Germany from the Elbe is more barbarous and miserable than ever. Every nobleman who could arm a few peasants — serfs — made war upon his neighbor, and when the possessors of the great fiefs had wars of their own to maintain they obliged their vassals to leave their own particular quarrels to come and serve them This was called, "The Law of Truce."

How could the emperors choose to live in the midst of such barbarity instead of going to reside in Rome? Because, in order to be acknowledged by the Romans, it was necessary to be powerful among the Germans.

1019-21 — The emperor's authority in Lombardy was strengthened by his lieutenants. But the Saracens still continued their depredations upon Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and this year fell upon Tuscany. But their incursions in Italy were like those of the Slavs and Hungarians in Germany. They were no longer in a condition to make great conquests, because they were divided and weakened in Spain. The Greeks still possessed a great part of Apulia and Calabria, governed by a Catapan. One Millo, prince of Bari, and a prince of Salerno took arms against this Catapan.

Then appeared, for the first time, those adventurers of Normandy who afterwards founded the kingdom of Naples. They served Millo against the Greeks. Pope Benedict VIII. and Millo, being equally afraid of the Greeks and Saracens, go to Bamberg to demand succor of the emperor.

Henry II. confirms the donations of his predecessors to the see of Rome, reserving to himself the sovereign power. He confirms a decree made at Pavia, by which the clerks are restricted from having either wives or concubines.

1022 — There being a necessity for opposing the Greeks and Mahometans in Italy, he goes thither in the spring. His army is chiefly composed of bishops at the head of their own troops. This holy emperor, who would not suffer an under-deacon to have a wife, allowed the bishops to wallow in human blood; inconsistencies too frequent among men.

He sends troops towards Capua and to Apulia, but does not make himself master of the country, and it was but an indifferent conquest to seize the abbot of Monte Cassino, who had declared against him, and cause another to be elected in his room.

1023 — He very soon repasses the Alps, according to the maxim of his predecessors, never to stay long from Germany. He agrees with Robert, king of France, to have an interview in a boat upon the Meuse between Sedan and Mouzon. The emperor anticipates the king of France by frankly going to the camp. This was rather a visit of friends than a conference of kings — an example which has been seldom imitated.

1024 — The emperor afterwards makes a tour of a great part of Germany in profound peace, leaving everywhere marks of justice and generosity.

He felt his end approaching, although he was but fifty-two years of age, and historians write that before his death he said to the parents of his wife: "You gave me her a virgin, and I restore you her a virgin" — a very strange declaration from a husband, and still more strange from a crowned husband. He died July 14, and his body was carried to Bamberg, which was his favorite town. The canons of Bamberg canonized him a hundred years after his death.

CONRAD II., SURNAMED THE SALIC.

SIXTEENTH EMPEROR.

1024 — One cannot sufficiently wonder at the prodigious number of dissertations upon the seven pretended electors who were supposed to be instituted at this time. Be this as it will, there never had been a greater assembly than that in which Conrad II. was elected. They were obliged to hold it in the open fields, between Worms and Mentz. The dukes of Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Carinthia, Suabia, Franconia, of Upper and Lower Lorraine, together with a prodigious number of counts, bishops, and abbots, gave their votes. It must be observed that the magistrates of the towns were present, though they did not give their suffrages. They encamped six weeks in the field of election, before it was determined.

At length the choice fell upon Conrad, surnamed the Salic, because he was born on the river Sal. He was a nobleman of Franconia, whom they derived from Otho the Great by the female line. In all probability, he was chosen as the least dangerous of all the pretenders. Indeed, we find no great towns belonging to him, and he is no more the chief of powerful vassals, every one of whom is as powerful as himself.

1025-26 — Germany was always considered as the centre of the empire, and the name of the em-

peror seems to have been confounded with that of the king of Germany. The Italians snatched all opportunities to separate these two titles.

The deputies of the great fiefs in Italy come and offer the empire to Robert, king of France. At that time it was the present of an unsubstantial title, and of substantial wars, therefore Robert wisely refuses the proffer. They address themselves to the duke of Guienne, a peer of France, who accepts it, because he had less to lose. But Pope John XX. and the archbishop of Milan bring Conrad the Salic into Italy. First of all his son Henry must be elected and crowned king of Germany. It was then the custom of France and of every other nation.

He is obliged to besiege Pavia. He undergoes seditions at Ravenna. Every German emperor, though invited to Italy, meets with a bad reception.

1027 — Scarce is Conrad crowned at Rome, when he finds himself no longer in safety. He returns to Germany, where he finds a faction against him. These are the causes of the frequent journeys of the emperors.

1028-30 — Henry, duke of Bavaria, being dead, Stephen, king of Hungary, his relative by his mother, demands Bavaria, to the prejudice of the last duke's son — a proof that the rights of blood were not yet thoroughly established: indeed, nothing was. The emperor gives Bavaria to the son. The Hungarians attempt to take it by force of arms. They fight, and then peace is made; and, after the

death of this Stephen, the emperor has credit enough to raise one Peter, a kinsman of Stephen, to the throne of Hungary. He has, moreover, power enough to exact homage, and extort a tribute from the said Peter, whom the incensed Hungarians call Peter the German. The popes, who still believed they had erected Hungary into a kingdom, would not have wished to hear him called Peter the Roman.

Ernest, duke of Suabia, who had taken arms against the emperor, is put to the ban of the empire. Ban at first signified banner, afterwards edict or proclamation, and then banishment. This is one of the first examples of that proscription. The form was: "We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans, and we send thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth."

1031-1032 — At this time the sovereigns of Silesia began to be known. They are neither under the yoke of Bohemia nor of Poland. Poland insensibly detaches itself from the empire, which it will no longer acknowledge.

1032-1034 — If the empire loses one vassal in Poland, it acquires a hundred in the kingdom of Burgundy.

Rudolph, the last king, who had no children, leaves at his death his dominions to Conrad the Salic. This was but a very small extent of dominion, with the territorial superiority, or at least pretensions to the superiority, that is, right of paramount over the Swiss, the Grisons, Provence, Franche-Comté,

Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphiny. Hence the lands on the other side of the Rhine are still called the lands of the empire. All the noblemen of those cantons, who formerly held of Rudolph, now hold of the emperor.

Some bishops were likewise erected into feudatory princes. Conrad gave them all the same rights. The emperors still raise the bishops in order to oppose them to the noblemen, for they were always at ease when those two bodies were divided, and very much disturbed when they were united.

The sees of Lyons, Besançon, Ambrun, Vienne, Lausanne, Geneva, Basel, Grenoble, Valence, Gap, and Die, were imperial fiefs.

Of all the feudatories of Burgundy, one only lays the foundations of a durable power. That is Humbert with the White Hands, from whom the dukes of Savoy are descended. He had no more than the Morienne, when the emperor gave him the Chablais, the Valais, and St. Maurice. In the same manner, from Poland to the Scheldt, and from the Saône to Garillan, the emperors everywhere created princes, and looked upon themselves as lords paramount of almost all Europe.

1035-39 — Italy, still involved in troubles, recalls Conrad. That same archbishop of Milan, who had crowned the emperor, was for that very reason against him, because his rights and pretensions were augmented by it. Conrad causes him to be apprehended with three other bishops. He is afterwards

obliged to besiege Milan, which, however, he could not take. There he loses part of his army, and as a consequence, his credit at Rome.

He goes to make laws at Beneventum and Capua, but, in the meantime, the Norman adventurers make conquests in that country.

At length he re-enters Milan by means of negotiations, and returns to Germany, according to custom.

He is taken ill, and dies at Utrecht, June 4, 1039.

HENRY III.

SEVENTEENTH EMPEROR.

1039-42 — Henry III., surnamed "the Black," son of Conrad, already crowned while his father was alive, is acknowledged without difficulty. He is crowned and consecrated a second time by the archbishop of Cologne. The first years of his reign are signalized by wars with Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, which, however, produce no great event.

He bestows the archbishopric of Lyons, and invests the archbishop, by the cross and ring, without any contradiction; two circumstances very remarkable, which prove that Lyons was an imperial town, and that the kings possessed the right of investing bishops.

1042-46 — Rome and Italy were involved as usual in great confusion.

The house of Toscanella had always the chief authority in Rome. It had purchased the pontificate for a child of twelve years of age belonging to that family. Two others having purchased it at the same time, these three pontiffs shared the revenues equally among them, and agreed to live peaceably, leaving all political affairs to the chief of the house of Toscanella.

This singular triumvirate continued as long as they had money to consult their pleasures, and when they had no more, each sold his part of the papacy to the Deacon Gratian, whom Father Maimbourg calls a holy priest, a man of quality, very rich. But as young Benedict XI. had been elected a long time before the other two, he by a solemn agreement, was allowed to enjoy the tribute which England then paid to Rome, under the appellation of St. Peter's Pence, and to which the kings of England had long submitted.

This Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI. and who is reckoned to have conducted himself wisely, enjoyed the pontificate in peace, when the emperor Henry III. came to Rome.

Never emperor exercised more authority in that place. He deposed Gregory VI. as having been guilty of simony, and nominated to the papacy his own chancellor, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, without any person's daring to murmur.

The chancellor, having become pope, consecrates the emperor and his wife, and promises all that the

popes have at any time promised to the emperors, when these latter happened to be the stronger.

1047 — Henry III. bestows the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and almost all the Beneventine, except the town of Beneventum, and its territory, upon the Norman princes, who had conquered these countries from the Greeks and Saracens. The popes did not, at that time, pretend to give these dominions. The town of Beneventum then belonged to the Pandolphi of Toscanella.

The emperor returns to Germany, and fills all the vacant sees.

1048 — The duchy of Mosellanic Lorraine is given to Gerard of Alsace, and that of Lower Lorraine to the house of Luxemburg. The house of Alsace, since that time, is known only by the titles of marquises and dukes of Lorraine.

The pope being dead, we again find the emperor giving a pope to Rome, just as he gave away any other benefice. Henry III. sends a Bavarian called Popo, who is immediately acknowledged as pope, under the name of Damasus II.

1049 — Damasus dying, the emperor, in the Assembly of Worms, nominates Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the papacy, and sends him to take possession. This is Pope Leo IX., the first who kept his own bishopric together with that of Rome. It is not surprising that the emperors should thus dispose of the holy see. Theodora and Marosia had accustomed the Romans to this submission, and with-

out Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. the pontificate would have been always dependent. Their feet would have been kissed, and they themselves would have been slaves.

1050-52 — The Hungarians kill their king, Peter, renounce the Christian religion, and the homage they had done to the empire. Henry III. makes war upon them unsuccessfully, and cannot put an end to it in any other way but by giving his daughter in marriage to Andrew, the new king, who was a Christian, although his subjects were not.

1053 — Pope Leo IX. comes to Worms, to complain to the emperor that the Norman princes were become too powerful.

Henry III. resumes the feudal rights of Bamberg, and gives the pope the town of Beneventum in exchange. He could give the pope no more than the town, as the Norman princes had done homage to the empire for the rest of the duchy, but the emperor furnished the pope with an army to expel these new conquerors, who had become too near neighbors to Rome.

Leo IX. marches against them with this army, one-half of which is commanded by ecclesiastics.

Humfroid, Richard, and Robert Guiscard, or Guichard, those Normans so famous in history, cut in pieces the pope's army, though three times as numerous as their own. They take the pope prisoner, prostrate themselves before him, and lead him captive to the town of Beneventum.

1054 — The emperor affects absolute power. The duke of Bavaria, being at war with the bishop of Ratisbon, Henry III. espouses the bishop's cause, summons the duke of Bavaria to appear before his privy council, strips him of his dominions, and gives Bavaria to his own son Henry, about three years of age. This is the famous Henry IV.

The duke of Bavaria takes refuge among the Hungarians, whom he in vain endeavors to interest in his revenge.

The emperor proposes to the noblemen, who are most attached to his interest, to secure the empire to his son, who is an infant. He is accordingly declared king of the Romans in the castle of Tribur, near Mentz. This was not a new title. It had been assumed by Ludolphus, the son of Otho I.

1055 — He makes a treaty of alliance with Contarini, duke of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful, though it did not coin money till after the year 950, and was not enfranchised till after 998, from the acknowledgment of a mantle of cloth of gold, the only tribute which it had paid to the emperors.

Genoa was its rival in power and commerce. She was already in possession of Corsica, which she had taken from the Arabians, but her trade was much more advantageous than the possession of Corsica, which the Pisans disputed with her.

There were no such towns in Germany; all beyond the Rhine was poor and wretched. The

people of the North, and those of the East, still poorer, continued to ravage these countries.

1056 — The Slavs make another irruption, and desolate the duchy of Saxony.

Henry III. dies near Paderborn, in the arms of Pope Victor II., who before his death consecrates his son Henry emperor, in the sixth year of his age.

HENRY IV.

EIGHTEENTH EMPEROR.

1056 — A woman governs the empire. She was French, daughter of a duke of Guienne, peer of France, called Agnes, mother of the young emperor Henry IV. She, who had by the right of guardianship the patrimonial estates of her son, had that of the empire, because she was possessed of courage and address.

1057-1069 — The first years of the reign of Henry IV. are obscure times of trouble.

Private noblemen make war upon one another in Germany. The duke of Bohemia, still vassal of the empire, is attacked by Poland, which will no longer be a member of it.

The Hungarians, so long formidable to Germany, are at length obliged to solicit succor of the Germans against the Poles, become dangerous, and notwithstanding that succor they are defeated. King Andrew and his queen fly for refuge to Ratisbon.

No policy or great design seems to have influenced

these wars, which are produced from the slightest causes. Sometimes they are derived from the spirit of chivalry, by this time introduced into Germany. A count of Holland, for example, goes to war against the bishops of Cologne and Liège, on account of a quarrel that happened in a tournament.

The rest of Europe takes no share in the affairs of Germany; there is no war with France, no influence in England and the North, and very little at that time in Italy, though Henry IV. was both king and emperor of that country.

The empress Agnes finds it difficult to maintain her regency.

At length, in 1601, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of Henry IV., the archbishop of Cologne, and other princes, carry off the emperor from his mother, who is accused of sacrificing everything to the bishop of Augsburg, her minister and gallant. She flies to Rome, and there takes the veil, and the noblemen remain masters of the emperor, and of Germany, during his minority.

Meanwhile, after abundance of troubles in Italy, still excited on account of the pontificate, Pope Nicholas II., in 1059, had decreed in a council of a hundred and thirteen bishops, that for the future the cardinals only should elect the pope, who should afterwards be presented to the people, to have the election confirmed. "Saving," added he, "the honor and respect due to our dear son Henry, now king, who, if it pleases God, shall be emperor, according

to the right which we have already conferred upon him."

Thus advantage was taken of the minority of Henry IV. to establish the rights and pretensions which the pontiffs of Rome always maintained when they could.

At that time a custom was established, which the dread of the rapaciousness of a thousand petty tyrants of Italy had introduced. A man gave his lands to the Church under the title of "oblata," and continued feudatory possession for a slight acknowledgment. This is the origin of the superiority of Rome over the kingdom of Naples.

The same Pope Nicholas II., after having in vain excommunicated the Norman conquerors, made protectors and vassals of them, and those who were feudatories of the empire, and less afraid of the popes than of the emperors, do homage for their lands to Pope Nicholas, in the council of Melphi, in the year 1059. The popes in the beginning of their power resembled the caliphs in the decay of their dominions; they bestowed the investiture on the strongest competitor.

Robert receives of the pope the ducal crown of Apulia and Calabria, and is invested by the standard. Richard is confirmed prince of Capua, and the pope, moreover, gives them Sicily, in case they expel the Saracens from that island.

In effect, Robert and his brothers make themselves

masters of Sicily in 1061, and thereby do the greatest service to Italy.

It was not till long after this period that the popes got possession of Beneventum, left by the Norman princes to the Pandolphi of the house of Toscanella.

1069 — Henry IV., being now of age, frees himself from the captivity in which he was detained by the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria.

Everything was then in the most horrible confusion. This may be judged by the right of ransoming travellers, a right which all the noblemen, from the Main and the Weser to the country of the Slavs, reckoned among their feudal prerogatives.

The right of pillaging the emperor seemed likewise very natural to the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, and the marquis of Thuringia, who form an association against him.

1070 — Henry IV., assisted by the rest of the empire, dissipates this association.

Otho of Bavaria is put under the ban of the empire. He was the second sovereign of that duchy who underwent this disgrace. The emperor gives Bavaria to Guelph, son of Azo, marquis of Italy.

1071-72 — The emperor, though young and addicted to pleasure, makes a tour through Germany, to establish some sort of order.

The year 1072 is the first era of the famous quarrel about the investitures.

Alexander II. had been elected pope without consulting the imperial court, in spite of which he had

maintained his station. Hildebrand, born at Soanne, in Tuscany, of parents unknown, a monk of Clugny under the abbot Odilo, and afterwards cardinal, governed the pontificate. He is well known by the name of Gregory VII., a man of an enterprising genius, turbulent and fiery, but artful, even in the midst of his impetuosity, the most insolent of men and the most zealous of priests. He had already by his councils established and reinforced the authority of the Church.

He persuades Pope Alexander to summon the emperor to his tribunal. This would seem to have been a ridiculous piece of rashness, but if we consider the situation of the emperor, it was not. Saxony, Thuringia, and a great part of Germany had then declared against Henry IV.

1073 — Alexander II. dying, Hildebrand has credit enough to be elected by the people, without asking the votes of the cardinals, or waiting for the emperor's consent. He writes to that prince that he had been elected against his will, and was ready to resign. Henry IV. sends his chancellor to confirm the election of the pope, who, having nothing further to fear, takes off the mask.

1074 — Henry continues to make war upon the Saxons, and the association formed against him. Henry IV. is conqueror.

1075 — The Russians began to be Christians, and to be known in the West.

One Demetrius — for the Greek names had pen-

etrated even to that part of the world — expelled from his dominions by his brother, comes to Mentz, and implores the assistance of the emperor, and, what is still more remarkable, sends his son to Rome to prostrate himself at the feet of Gregory VII. as the judge of the Christians. The emperor was counted the temporal, and the pope the spiritual chief of Europe.

Henry totally destroys the association, and restores peace to the empire.

He seems to have been afraid of new revolutions, for he writes a very humble letter to the pope, in which he accuses himself of debauchery and simony, and we must believe his word. His confession gives Gregory the right of rebuking him. This is the fairest of all rights, but it does not give him that of disposing of crowns.

Gregory VII. writes to the bishops of Bremen, Constance, the archbishop of Mentz, and others, and orders them to come to Rome. "You have permitted clerks," says he, "to keep concubines, and even to take new ones — we order you to appear at the first council in Rome."

It was also necessary to settle the affair of tithes, which the bishops and abbots of Germany disputed with one another.

Gregory VII. is the first who proposes a crusade. He writes on that subject to Henry IV. He pretends that he himself will go and deliver the holy sepulchre at the head of fifty thousand men, and desires the

emperor to come and serve under him. The then prevailing spirit divests this idea of the pope of the air of madness, and leaves nothing but that of greatness.

The design of commanding the emperor, and all the kings, seems no less chimerical, yet this is what he undertakes, and not without some success.

Salomon, king of Hungary, driven from part of his dominions, and being master of no more than what lies between Presburg and Austria, comes to Worms, and renews the homage of Hungary to the empire.

Gregory VII. writes to him: "You ought to know that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman Church. Learn that you will incur the indignation of the holy see, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of it, and not of the king of Germany."

The pope exacts of the duke of Bohemia a hundred marks of silver, an annual tribute, and gives him, by way of recompense, the right of wearing the mitre.

1076 — Henry IV. always enjoyed the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of giving the investiture by the cross and the ring. This right he had in common with almost all princes. It naturally belongs to the people to choose their own pontiffs and magistrates, and it is but just that their choice should concur with the royal authority, but this authority had usurped the whole. The emperors

filled vacant bishoprics, and Henry IV. sold them. Gregory, in opposing this abuse, maintained the natural liberty of mankind, but in opposing the concurrence of the imperial authority, he introduced a still greater abuse. Then broke out the divisions between the Empire and the Church.

The predecessors of Gregory VII. had sent legates to the emperors, for no other purpose but to entreat their succor, and desire them to come and be crowned in Rome. Gregory sends two legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent.

The legates, on their arrival at Goslar, are abandoned to the insults of the servants. By way of answer, a diet is held at Worms, at which almost all the noblemen, bishops, and abbots of Germany are present.

There a cardinal, called Hugh, demands justice for all the crimes he imputes to the popes. Gregory is deposed by a majority of voices, but there ought to have been an army to go and support that judgment at Rome.

The pope, on his side, deposes the emperor by a bull. "I forbid him," says he, "to govern the Teutonic kingdom and Italy, and release all his subjects from their oath of allegiance."

Gregory, more cunning than the emperor, well knew that these excommunications would be seconded by civil wars. He brings over the German bishops to his party. These bishops engage the

noblemen. They are joined by the Saxons, Henry's old enemies. The excommunication of Henry IV. serves them as a pretext.

The same Guelph to whom the emperor had given Bavaria, arms himself against him by means of his own bounty, and supports the malcontents.

At length, the majority of the bishops, and even of the princes, who had deposed Gregory VII. subject their emperor to the judgment of that pope. They desire that the pope will come and judge the emperor definitely at Augsburg.

1077 — The emperor would fain prevent this fatal judgment of Augsburg, and in consequence of an unheard-of resolution, goes, attended by a few domestics, to implore the absolution of the pope.

The pope was then in the fortress of Canossa, in the Apennines, with the countess Mathilda, the emperor's own cousin.

The countess Mathilda is the true cause of all the wars between the emperors and the popes, which have so long ravaged Italy. She possessed, in her own right, a great part of Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almost the whole of what is now called The Patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto, part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the march of Ancona. She was called the great countess, sometimes duchess. There was not then any form of title used in Europe. People said to kings, "Your excellency," "your serenity," "your grandeur," and "your

grace," indifferently. The title of majesty was rarely given to the emperors, and was rather an epithet than a name of honor attributed to the imperial dignity. There is still extant the patent of a donation of Mathilda to the bishop of Modena, which begins thus: "In presence of Mathilda, by the grace of God, duchess and countess." Her mother, who was sister of Henry III. and was very ill treated by her brother, had brought up this powerful princess in an implacable hatred to the house of Henry. She was submissive to the pope, who was her director, and, as his enemies say, her gallant. Her attachment to Gregory and her hatred of the Germans she carried to such a length as to make a donation of all her territories to the pope.

It was in the presence of this countess Mathilda that the emperor, in the month of January, 1077, barefoot and in haircloth, prostrated himself at the pope's feet, swearing that he would be submissive to him in all things, and go and wait his decree at Augsburg.

All the noblemen of Lombardy now began to be more dissatisfied with the pope than the emperor. Mathilda's donation filled them with alarm; they promise to succor Henry IV. if he will break the shameful treaty he has made. Then the world saw what had never been seen before, a German emperor assisted by Italy and abandoned by his own country.

The noblemen and bishops assembled at Forchheim, in Franconia, animated by the pope's legates,

depose the emperor, and reunite their suffrages in favor of Rudolph of Rheinfels, duke of Suabia.

1078 — Gregory then behaves like the supreme judge of kings; he has deposed Henry IV. but still it is in his power to pardon that monarch; he takes it amiss that they did not wait for his precise order to consecrate him, who was newly elected at Mentz; he declares from the fortress of Canossa, where he was blocked up by the noblemen of Lombardy, that he will acknowledge for emperor and king of Germany him of the competitors who shall obey him the most implicitly.

Henry IV. returns to Germany, reanimates his party and levies an army. Almost all Germany is, by means of the two factions, involved in blood and flames.

1079 — All the bishops are in arms in this war. A bishop of Strasburg, one of Henry's partisans, goes and plunders all the convents which had declared for the pope.

1080 — While they fight in Germany, Gregory VII. escapes from the Lombards, excommunicates Henry anew, and by his bull of March 7, "We give," says he, "the Teutonic kingdom to Rudolph, and we condemn Henry to be vanquished."

He sends to Rudolph a crown of gold, with this wretched verse, so well known: *"Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho."*

Henry IV., on his side, assembles thirty bishops, with some German and Lombard noblemen at

Brixen, and deposes the pope for the second time, as ineffectually as at first.

Bertrand, count of Provence, withdraws himself from his obedience to the emperors, and does homage to the pope. The town of Arles continues faithful to Henry.

Gregory VII. fortifies himself with the protection of the Norman princes, and gives them a new investiture, on condition that they shall always defend the popes.

Gregory encourages Rudolph and his party, and promises that Henry shall die within the year; but, in the famous battle of Merseburg, Henry IV., assisted by Godfrey of Bouillon, retorts the pope's prediction upon his competitor, Rudolph, who is mortally wounded by Godfrey's own hand.

1081 — Henry revenges himself upon Saxony, which then becomes the most miserable of all countries.

Before his departure for Italy he gives his daughter Agnes in marriage to Frederick, baron of Stauffen, who, as well as Godfrey of Bouillon, had helped him to gain the decisive battle of Merseburg. The duchy of Suabia is her dower. This is the origin of the illustrious and unfortunate house of Suabia.

Henry, being conqueror, marches into Italy. The places belonging to the countess Mathilda make resistance. He carries along with him a pope of his own making, called Guibert, but this very cir-

cumstance hinders him at first from being received in Rome.

1082 — The Saxons set up the shadow of an emperor, one count Hermann, scarce known in the world.

1083 — Henry besieges Rome. Gregory proposes to him to come once more and demand absolution, and promises to crown him on these terms. Henry, instead of answering, takes the city, and the pope shuts himself up in the castle of St. Angelo.

Robert Guiscard comes to his assistance, although he had, some years before, had his share of the excommunications which Gregory so liberally bestowed. A negotiation is set on foot, and the pope promises to crown Henry.

Gregory proposes to keep his promise by lowering down the crown with a rope from the walls of the castle of St. Angelo upon the emperor's head.

1084 — Henry is not satisfied with the pleasant ceremony. He exalts his antipope Guibert, and is solemnly crowned by his hands.

Meanwhile Robert Guiscard, having received a reinforcement of troops, compels the emperor to retire, releases the pope from the castle of St. Angelo, becomes at once his protector and master, and carries him to Salerno, where Gregory continues till his death the prisoner of his deliverers, but still talking as the master of kings and martyr of the Church.

1085 — The emperor returns to Rome, where

he causes himself and his pope to be acknowledged, and retreats with great haste to Germany, like all his predecessors, who seem to have come and taken Rome merely by way of ceremony. He is recalled by the divisions of Germany, and there is a necessity for crushing the antiemperor and taming the Saxons, but he never could raise great armies; consequently his success could never be complete.

1086 — He subdues Thuringia, but Bavaria, debauched by the ingratitude of Guelph, and half Suabia, which would not acknowledge his son-in-law, declared against him, and a civil war rages through all Germany.

1087 — Gregory VII. being dead, Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino, is pope, under the name of Victor III. The countess Mathilda, still faithful to her hatred of Henry IV., furnishes this Victor with troops to expel the emperor's garrison and this pope Guibert from Rome. Victor dies, and Rome continues subject to the imperial authority.

1088 — The antiemperor, Hermann, having now neither money nor troops, comes and throws himself on his knees before Henry IV., and dies at last in oblivion.

1089 — Henry IV. marries a Russian princess, widow of a marquis of Brandenburg of the house of Staden. This was by no means a political match.

He gives the marquisate of Meissen to the count of Lansberg, one of the most ancient Saxon nobleman;

from this marquis of Meissen the whole house of Saxony is descended.

Having pacified Germany, he repairs again to Italy. The greatest obstacle he finds there is still that countess Mathilda, lately remarried to young Guelph, son of that ungrateful Guelph to whom Henry IV. had given Bavaria.

The countess maintains the war in her dominions against the emperor, who returns to Germany without having done anything to any purpose.

This Guelph, Mathilda's husband, is said to have been the first origin of the faction of the Guelphs, by which name the party of the popes in Italy was afterwards called. The word Ghibelline was long after applied to the faction of the emperors, because Henry, son of Conrad III., was born at Waibling, of which the Italianized form is Ghibellino. But this derivation is disputed.

1090 — The new pope, Urban II., author of the Crusades, pursues Henry IV. with no less rancor than did Gregory VII.

The bishops of Constance and Passau excite an insurrection of the people. His new wife, Adelaide of Russia, and his son Conrad, born of Bertha, revolt against him. Never was emperor, husband, or father more unfortunate than Henry IV.

1091 — Empress Adelaide and her son-in-law, Conrad, pass into Italy. The countess Mathilda furnishes them with troops and money. Roger,

duke of Calabria, gives his daughter in marriage to Conrad.

Pope Urban, having made this powerful league, does not fail to excommunicate the emperor.

1092 — The emperor, when he last departed from Italy, had left a garrison in Rome; he was still master of the palace of the Lateran, which was quite strong, and in which his pope, Guibert, had taken refuge.

The commandant of the garrison sells both garrison and palace to the pope. Geoffroi, abbot of Vendôme, who was then at Rome, lends Urban money to make this bargain, and Urban reimburses him with the title of cardinal, which he settles upon him and his successors. Pope Guibert betakes himself to flight.

1090-95 — During these years the minds of men in Europe are engrossed by the idea of Crusades which the famous Peter the Hermit preached everywhere with an enthusiasm that spread like contagion from town to town.

A great council, or rather a prodigious assembly is held at Placentia in 1095. There were above forty thousand men, and the council was held in the open field. There the pope proposes the Crusade.

There Empress Adelaide and Countess Mathilda solemnly demanded justice of the emperor Henry IV.

Conrad comes and kisses the feet of Urban II., takes the oath of fidelity to him, and leads his horse

by the bridle. Urban promises to crown him emperor on condition that he will renounce the right of investiture. He afterwards kisses him on the face and dines with him in Cremona.

1096 — The Crusade having been preached in France with more success than at Placentia, Walter Lack-Means, Peter the Hermit, and a German monk called Godescald, take their march through Germany at the head of an army of vagabonds.

1097 — As these vagabonds wore the cross and had no money, and the Jews who carried on all the trade of Germany had a great deal, the Crusaders began their expeditions with them at Worms, Cologne, Mentz, Trier, and several other cities. They are massacred and burnt. Almost the whole city of Mentz is reduced to ashes by these disorders.

Emperor Henry represses these excesses as much as he can, and leaves the Crusaders to take their route through Hungary, where they are almost all murdered.

Young Guelph quarrels with his wife Mathilda. There is a separation between them, and this quarrel contributes a little to the re-establishment of the emperor's affairs.

1098 — Henry holds a diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he causes his son Conrad to be declared unworthy to reign.

1099 — He causes his second son Henry to be elected and crowned, never dreaming that he would

have greater cause of complaint against the younger than against the elder.

1100 — The emperor's authority is absolutely destroyed in Italy, but re-established in Germany.

1101 — The rebellious Conrad dies suddenly at Florence. Pope Paschal II., to whom the emperor's impotent lieutenants in Italy had in vain opposed antipopes, excommunicates Henry IV., after the example of his predecessors.

1102 — Countess Mathilda, having quarrelled with her husband, renews her donations to the Roman church.

Bruno, archbishop of Trier, primate to the Gauls of Germany, having been invested by the emperor, goes to Rome, where he is obliged to ask pardon for having received the investiture.

1104 — Henry IV. promises to go to the Holy Land. This was the only way at that time of conciliating the affections of his subjects.

1105 — But at the same time the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Constance, the pope's legates, perceiving the emperor's crusade was no more than a feint to excite his son Henry against him, release him from the excommunication which, say they, "he has incurred by being faithful to his father." The pope encourages him, and several Saxon and Bavarian noblemen are gained over.

The partisans of young Henry assemble a council and an army, and in this council wise laws are made. There they confirm what is called "God's Truce," a

monument of the hostile barbarity which prevailed in those times. This truce was an edict forbidding the noblemen and barons who were at open war to slay one another on Sundays and holidays.

Young Henry protests in the council that he is ready to submit to his father if his father will submit to the pope. The whole council cried *Kyrie eleison,* which was the prayer used in armies and councils.

Meanwhile this rebellious son engages the marquis of Austria in his party, together with the duke of Bohemia. The dukes of Bohemia sometimes took the title of king, since the pope had given them the mitre.

His party grows stronger and stronger. The emperor in vain writes to Pope Paschal, who will not listen to his proposals. A diet is summoned at Mentz in order to appease so many troubles.

Young Henry feigns a reconciliation with his father, asks pardon of him with tears in his eyes, and having allured him into the castle of Bingenheim in the neighborhood of Mentz, causes him to be apprehended and detained in prison.

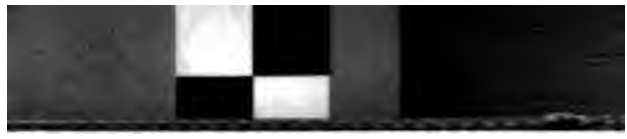
1106 — The Diet of Mentz declares for this perfidious son against the unfortunate father. The emperor receives an intimation that he must send the imperial ornaments to young Henry. They are taken from him by force and carried to Mentz, where the unnatural usurper is crowned. But he protests with a sigh that it is against his own inclination, and

that he will restore the crown to his father as soon as Henry IV. shall be obedient to the pope

We find in the constitutions of Goldast a letter from the emperor to his son, in which he conjures him to allow the bishop of Liège to grant him an asylum at least. "Allow me," says he, "to continue at Liège, if not as emperor, at least as refugee. Let it not be said to my shame, or rather to yours, that I am forced to beg lodgings in Eastertime. If you grant me what I ask I shall be greatly obliged to you: if you refuse me, I will go and rather live as a poor cottager in a foreign country than wander thus from one disgrace to another in an empire which was once my own."

What a letter is this from an emperor to his son! The hypocrisy and inflexible cruelty of this young prince restored some partisans to Henry IV. The newly elected emperor in attempting to violate his father's asylum at Liège was repulsed. He went to exact the oath of allegiance in Alsace, and all the homage the Alsatians did was to beat the troops by which he was accompanied, so that he was compelled to betake himself to flight. But this slight check served only to incense him and aggravate the miseries of his father.

The emperor was protected by the bishop of Liège, the dukes of Limburg and Low Lorraine. The count of Hainault was against him. Pope Paschal wrote to the count of Hainault, "Persecute without ceasing Henry chief of the heretics, and his



favorites: you cannot offer more agreeable sacrifices to God."

Henry IV. at length being almost quite destitute of relief, and on the brink of being forced in Liège, writes to the abbot of Clugny, and seems to have meditated a retreat in that convent. He dies at Liège, August 7, overwhelmed with grief, and crying aloud, "O God of vengeance! thou wilt avenge this parricide." It was an opinion equally ancient and vain, that God fulfilled the curses of dying men, especially those of parents: an error which would be very useful if it could terrify those who deserve such curses.

The unnatural son of Henry IV. comes to Liège, orders his father's body to be dug up from the church, as the carcass of an excommunicated wretch, and to be put in a vault at Spires.

HENRY V.

NINETEENTH EMPEROR.

The lords of the great fiefs then began to fortify themselves in the right of sovereignty. They assumed the name of *"Coimperantes,"* looking upon themselves as sovereigns in their fiefs and vassals of the empire, not of the emperor. They indeed received of him the vacant fiefs, but the same authority that bestowed them could not take them away. Thus in Poland the king confers the palatinates, but the republic alone has the right of destitution. In effect

one may receive through favor, but he ought not to be dispossessed but by justice. Several vassals of the empire had already entitled themselves dukes and counts, "by the grace of God."

This independence which the noblemen confirmed to themselves, and which the emperors endeavored to reduce, contributed at least as much as the popes to the troubles of the empire and the rebellion of children against their own fathers.

The power of the grandees derived growth from the impotence of the throne. This feudal government was nearly the same in France and Aragon. There was no longer any kingdom in Italy. All the noblemen there fortified themselves separately. Europe was wholly roughened with castles and covered with banditti. Barbarity and ignorance prevailed. The inhabitants of the country were slaves, the burghers of the town were despised and racked with impositions, and, some trading towns in Italy excepted, Europe from one end to the other was nothing but a theatre of misery.

The first thing done by Henry V. after his coronation is to maintain the same right of investiture against which he had taken arms to dethrone his father.

Pope Paschal having come to France goes as far as Châlons in Champagne, to confer with the German princes and bishops who come thither in the emperor's name.

That numerous embassy at first refuses to make

the first visit to the pope. At length, however, they go to his lodgings. Bruno, archbishop of Trier, supports the right of the emperor. It would have been much more natural for an archbishop to exclaim against those investitures and homages of which the bishops made such loud complaints, but private interest always overbalances that of the public.

1107-10 — These four years are almost wholly employed in wars against Hungary and part of Poland — wars without cause and without any great success on either side, which ended in the weariness of all parties and left things exactly as they were.

1111 — The emperor at the end of this war marries the daughter of Henry I., king of England, second son and successor of William the Conqueror. It is pretended that his wife had for dower a sum amounting to about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. This was equal to above five millions of German crowns, as they are now valued, or to twenty millions of francs. All the historians fail in point of exactness in recording such facts, and the history of those times is too often a heap of exaggerations.

At length the emperor turns his thoughts upon Italy and the imperial crown, and Pope Paschal II., in order to disturb him, renews the quarrel of the investitures.

Henry V. sends ambassadors to Rome, followed by an army. In the meantime he promises by a writing, still preserved in the Vatican, to renounce

the investitures and to leave the popes in possession of all they had received from the emperors, and what is strange enough, after these submissions he promises not to kill or mutilate the sovereign pontiff.

Paschal II. by the same act promises to order the bishops to abandon to the emperor all their fiefs holding of the empire. By this agreement the bishops lost a great deal, but the pope and emperor were considerable gainers.

All the bishops of Italy and Germany, being at Rome, protesting against this agreement, Henry V., in order to appease them, proposes that they shall farm the lands of which they were formerly in possession. But the bishops will by no means consent to be farmers.

Henry V. wearied with all these contests declares he will be crowned and consecrated without any condition at all. This whole dispute passed in the church of St. Peter during mass, which being ended, the emperor ordered his guards to take the pope into custody.

There is an insurrection in Rome in favor of the pope. The emperor is obliged to make his escape, but returns immediately with troops, fights a bloody battle in Rome, kills many Romans, and especially priests, and carries off the pope and some cardinals as prisoners.

Paschal was more complaisant in prison than at the altar. He does everything that the emperor desires. At the end of two months Henry V. recon-

ducts the holy father to Rome at the head of his troops. The pope crowns him emperor, April 13, and at the same time gives him the bull by which he is confirmed in the right of the investitures. It is remarkable that in this bull he gives him no other title but that of "*dilection*." But it is still more so, that the emperor and pope should communicate of the same host, and that the pope should say, when he gave the half of the host to the emperor, "As this part of the sacrament is divided from the other, so may the first of us two, who shall break the peace, be separated from the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

Henry V. finishes the farce by asking the pope's permission to bury his father in consecrated ground, assuring him he died penitent. Then he returns to Germany to perform the obsequies of Henry IV. without having established his power in Italy.

1112 — Paschal II. is not displeased to find his cardinals and legates in all kingdoms disavowing his condescension for Henry V.

He assembles a council in the basilic of St. John of Lateran, where, in presence of three hundred prelates, he asks pardon for his weakness, offers to resign the pontificate, cancels and annuls all he had done, and debases himself in order to exalt the Church.

1113 — Perhaps Paschal II. and his council would not have taken this step if they had not depended upon one of those revolutions which have always followed the consecration of the emperors. In effect,

there were troubles in Germany about the imperial treasury — another source of civil wars.

1114 — Lotharius, duke of Saxony, afterwards emperor, is at the head of the faction against Henry V. That emperor having occasion, like his father, to fight the Saxons, is like him defended by the house of Subia. Frederick von Stauffen, duke of Suabia, and father of the emperor Barbarossa, prevents Henry V. from sinking in these troubles.

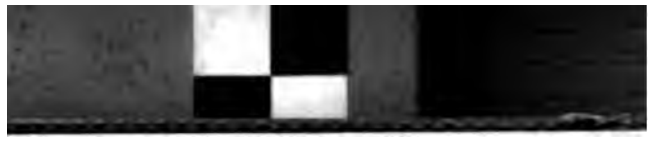
1115 — The most dangerous enemies of Henry V. are three priests; the pope in Italy, the archbishop of Mentz, who sometimes defeats his troops, and Erland, bishop of Würzburg, who, being sent by him to the confederates, betrays his master and espouses their cause.

1116 — Henry V. being conqueror, puts Erlang, bishop of Würzburg, to the ban of the empire. The bishops of Würzburg pretended they were direct lords of all Franconia, although they were dukes of that country, and the duchy itself belonged to the imperial house.

The duchy of Franconia is given to Conrad, nephew of Henry V. At present there are no dukes, either of this great province or of Suabia.

Bishop Erlang defends himself for a long time in Würzburg, disputes the ramparts, sword in hand, and makes his escape when the town is taken.

The famous countess Mathilda dies after having renewed the donation of all her estate to the Roman church.



1117 — Emperor Henry V., disinherited by his cousin, and excommunicated by the pope, goes to Italy to take possession of Mathilda's lands, and be revenged upon his holiness. He enters Rome, and the pope flies for shelter among the Norman princes, the new vassals and protectors of the Church.

The first coronation of the emperor appearing equivocal, a second is performed, which is still more so. An archbishop of Braga, in Portugal, a Limousin by birth, called Bourdin, takes it in his head to consecrate the emperor.

1118 — After the ceremony Henry goes to secure Tuscany. Paschal II. returns to Rome with a small army belonging to the Norman princes. He dies and the army goes home again after having taken care to see itself well paid.

The cardinals of themselves elect Caïetan, Gelasus II. Cincio, consul of Rome, marquis of Frangipani, devoted to the emperor, enters the conclave, sword in hand, seizes the pope by the throat, knocks him down, and takes him prisoner. This brutal ferocity throws Rome into combustion. Henry V. goes thither. Gelasus retires to France, and the emperor gives the pontificate to his Limousin, Bourdin.

1119 — Gelasus having died, at the council of Vienne in Dauphiny, the cardinals who were present, conjointly with the Roman bishops, and even the laity, elect Guy of Burgundy, archbishop of Vienne, son of a duke of Burgundy, and of the blood royal

of France. This is not the first prince elected pope. He takes the name of Calixtus II.

Louis the Gross, king of France, takes upon himself the office of mediator in that grand affair of the investitures between the empire and the Church. A council is assembled at Rheims. The archbishop of Mentz arrives at that city with five hundred men at arms on horseback, and the count de Troye goes to receive him with a like number at the distance of half a league from town.

The emperor and the pope repair to Mouzon. They are on the very brink of agreement when a dispute upon words sets them more than ever at variance. The emperor quits Mouzon, and is excommunicated by the council.

1120-21 — As there were in this council several German bishops who had excommunicated the emperor, the other bishops of Germany will no longer allow the emperor to bestow the investitures.

1122 — At length, in a diet at Worms, the peace of the empire and of the Church is established. It is found that this long quarrel was founded on a misunderstanding. The question was not to know if the emperors conferred the bishopric, but if they could invest with the imperial fiefs those bishops who were canonically elected at their recommendation. It was decided that the investitures for the future should be conferred, not by the crook, but by the sceptre and ring. But what was much more important, the emperor, in express terms, renounces the

right of nominating to benefices those whom he was bound to invest. *Ego Henricus, Dei gratia, Romanorum imperator, concedo in omnibus ecclesiis fieri electionem & liberam consecrationem.* This was an irreparable breach in the imperial authority.

1123 — Domestic troubles in Bohemia, Hungary, Alsace, and Holland. At this miserable period there was nothing but discord in the Church, civil wars among the great, and slavery among the common people.

1124 — This is the first time that the affairs of England were intermingled with those of the empire. Henry I., king of England, and brother of the duke of Normandy, is already involved in wars with France on account of that duchy.

The emperor levies troops and advances towards the Rhine. We likewise see that even then all the German noblemen did not second the emperor in such quarrels. Several noblemen refuse to assist him against a power, which, by its situation, ought to be naturally the protector of the German lords of the great fiefs against the sovereign paramount, just as the kings of England afterwards joined the greater vassals of France.

1125 — The miseries of Europe were crowned with a pestilential disease, which attacks Henry V., who dies at Utrecht, May 22, with the reputation of an unnatural son, a hypocrite in religion, a turbulent neighbor, and a bad master.

LOTHARIUS II.

TWENTIETH EMPEROR.

1125-27 — This is a very singular era. France for the first time since the decay of Charlemagne's family, intermeddles in the election of an emperor in Germany. The famous monk Suger, abbot of St. Denis, and minister of state to Louis the Gross, goes to the Diet of Mentz with the retinue of a sovereign, to oppose at least the election of Frederick, duke of Suabia. He succeeds, either by intrigue or good fortune. The diet, being divided, chooses ten electors. These ten princes are not named. They elect Lotharius, duke of Saxony, and the lords then present elevate him upon their shoulders.

Conrad, duke of Franconia, of the house of Stauffen-Suabia, and Frederick, duke of Suabia, protest against this election. The abbot Suger was the first of the ministers of France who excited civil wars in Germany. Conrad causes himself to be proclaimed king, at Spires, but instead of supporting his faction he goes to make himself king of Lombardy at Milan. His towns in Germany are taken from him, but he acquires others in Lombardy.

1128-29 — Seven or eight wars rage at one time in Denmark, Holstein, Germany, and Flanders.

1130 — At Rome the people still pretended to elect popes in spite of the cardinals, who had reserved that right to themselves, and persisted in

refusing to acknowledge the person elected as their sovereign, though they consented to own him as their bishop. Rome was totally divided into two factions. One elects Innocent II., the other chooses the son or grandson of a Jew called Leo, who takes the name of Anacletus. The Jew's son, being rich, drives his competitor from Rome. Innocent II. takes refuge in France, which has now become the asylum of oppressed popes. This pope goes to Liège; engages Lotharius II. in his interest; crowns him emperor, together with his wife; and excommunicates his competitors.

1131-33 — Conrad of Franconia, the antiemperor, and Anacletus, the antipope, have a great faction in Italy. Emperor Lotharius and Pope Innocent go to Rome. The two popes submit to the decision of Lotharius, who decides in favor of Innocent. The antipope retires to the castle of St. Angelo, which is still in his possession. Lotharius causes himself to be consecrated by Innocent II., according to the then established customs. One of these was, that the emperor should first take an oath to preserve the pope's life and limbs. But he made the same promise to the emperor.

The pope cedes the profits of the lands of Countess Mathilda to Lotharius and his son-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, for their lives only, in consideration of an annual service to the holy see.

This was sowing wars for their successors.

To facilitate the donation of these profits, Lotha-

rius II. kissed the pope's feet, and led his mule some paces. Lotharius is supposed to be the first emperor who performed that double ceremony.

1134-35 — The two rivals of Lotharius, Conrad of Franconia, and Frederick of Suabia, being abandoned by their parties, reconcile themselves to the emperor, whom they acknowledge.

A celebrated diet is held at Magdeburg. The Greek emperor and the Venetians send thither ambassadors to demand justice against Roger, king of Sicily, and there the ambassadors of the duke of Poland take the oath of fidelity to the empire, in all probability to preserve Pomerania, of which they had made themselves masters.

1136 — Order and police are re-established in Germany. Inheritance and customs of fiefs and underfiefs are settled. Magistracy, burgomasters, mayors, and provosts are subjected to the feudal lords. Privileges of churches, bishoprics, and abbeys are confirmed.

1137 — The emperor journeys to Italy. Roger, duke of Apulia, and new king of Sicily, espoused the party of the antipope Anacletus, and threatened Rome. War is made upon Roger.

The city of Pisa was then quite important in Europe, being even above Venice and Genoa. These three trading towns furnished almost the whole West with all the delicacies of Asia. They had erected themselves quietly by liberty and commerce, while the desolation of the feudal government filled almost

every other place with misery and servitude. The Pisans of themselves equipped a fleet of forty galleys to assist the emperor, and without these he could not have stood his ground. It is reported that the first copy of the "*Digesta*" was then found in Apulia, and presented to the city of Pisa by the emperor.

Lotharius II. dies near Trent, in passing the Alps of the Tyrol.

CONRAD III.

TWENTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

1138 — Henry, duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Proud, who possessed Saxony, Meissen, Thuringia, Verona, Spoleto, and almost the whole estate of Mathilda, seized the imperial ornaments, and imagined his great power would raise him to the imperial throne, but this was the very circumstance that prevented his success.

All the noblemen unite in favor of Conrad, who had disputed the empire with Lotharius II. Henry of Bavaria, who seemed so powerful, is the third of that name who is put under the ban of the empire. He must have been still more imprudent than proud, seeing he could scarcely defend himself, notwithstanding his great power.

As the name of that prince's family was Guelph, those who espoused his party were called "Guelphs," and this name was afterwards usually given to the enemies of the emperors.

1139 — Saxony, which belonged to the Guelphs, is given to Albert of Anhalt, surnamed the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg, and Bavaria is given to the marquis of Austria. But Albert the Bear, finding himself unable to take possession of Saxony, this affair is accommodated. Saxony remains with the house of the Guelphs, and Bavaria continues with the house of Austria, but that whole disposition has since been changed.

1140 — Henry the Proud dies, leaving Henry the Lion in the cradle. His brother, Guelph, supports the war, towards the maintenance of which Roger, king of Sicily, gives him a thousand marks of silver. We see that the Norman princes have no sooner become powerful in Italy than they endeavor by all possible means to block up the emperor's road to Rome. Frederick Barbarossa, Conrad's nephew, so famous in the sequel, already signalizes himself in this war.

1140-46 — No period ever appeared more favorable for the emperors to come and establish at Rome that power which was always the object of their ambition, and always contested.

Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, a man of an enthusiastic disposition, preached through all Italy against the temporal power of the popes and the clergy, and persuaded all those whose interest it was to be persuaded, especially the Romans.

In 1144, under the short pontificate of Lucius II., the Romans make another attempt to re-establish

the ancient republic. They augment the senate, elect as patrician a son of the antipope Peter of Lyons, called Jordani, and confer upon him the tribunitial power. Pope Lucius marches against them and is killed at the foot of the capitol.

Meanwhile, Conrad III. neglects going to Italy, either being detained by a war which the Hungarians carried on against the marquis of Austria, or because the epidemic passion for the Crusades had already taken possession of his mind.

1146 — St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, having preached the Crusade in France, goes and preaches it again in Germany, but in what language did he preach it then? He did not understand the Teutonic, and he could not speak Latin to the people. He worked abundance of miracles. Perhaps he did: but he did not add the gift of prophecy to these miracles, for he promised in the name of God that the enterprise would be crowned with the greatest success.

The emperor, together with a number of noblemen, takes the cross at Spires.

1147 — Conrad III. makes preparations for the Crusade, in the Diet of Frankfort. Before his departure he causes his son, Henry, to be crowned king of the Romans. The imperial council of Rottweil is established to try causes in the last appeal. This council was composed of twelve barons. The precedency was given as a fief to the house of Schultz,

that is, on condition of fealty, homage, and acknowledgment. This kind of fiefs begins to be introduced.

The emperor embarks upon the Danube, with the celebrated bishop of Frisingen, who has written the history of this period, together with those of Ratisbon, Passau, Basel, Metz, and Toul. Frederick Barbarossa, the marquis of Austria; Henry, duke of Bavaria, and the marquis of Montserrat are the chief of those princes by whom he was accompanied.

The Germans were the last who came to these expeditions which were at first so splendid, and soon after so unfortunate. The little kingdom of Jerusalem was already erected. The states of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli in Syria, were formed. The counts of Joppa, and the marquises of Galilee and Sidon were created, but the greatest part of these conquests was lost.

1148 — Intemperance destroys part of the German army. Hence arose the report that the Greek emperor had poisoned the fountains, in order to destroy the Crusaders.

Conrad and Louis the Young, king of France, join their weakened armies near Laodicea. After some battles against the Mussulmans, he goes in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, instead of making himself master of Damascus, which he afterwards besieges in vain. He returns almost without an army, in vessels belonging to his brother-in-law, Manuel Comnenus, and goes ashore in the gulf of Venice, not

daring to go to Italy, much less to present himself at Rome for his coronation.

1148-49 — The loss of those prodigious armies of Crusaders in the country where Alexander had with forty thousand men subdued an empire much more powerful than that of the Arabians and Turks proves to demonstration that in these enterprises of the Christians there was some radical vice by which they were necessarily ruined; this was the feudal government, the independence of the chiefs, attended of course by disunion, disorder, and indiscretion.

The only reasonable crusade of those times was that of some Flemish and English noblemen, but chiefly consisting of a number of Germans, from the banks of the Rhine, the Main, and the Weser, who embarked for the relief of Spain, still usurped by the Moors. This was a real danger, which called aloud for assistance; and it was certainly more reasonable to assist Spain against usurpers than to go to Jerusalem, to which they had no pretension, and where there was nothing to be got. The Crusaders took Lisbon, and gave it to King Alphonso.

There was another crusade raised against the pagans of the North; for the spirit of the Christians of those times was to go and fight those who were not of their religion. The bishops of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Münster, Merseburg, and Brandenburg, together with several abbots, excited this crusade. They marched with an army of sixty thousand men

DEATH OF CONRAD III

to convert the Slavs, who inhabited Pomerania, Prussia, and the coasts of the Baltic. This crusade was set on foot without consulting the emperor, and even turns against him.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom Conrad had divested of Bavaria, was at the head of the crusade against the pagans, whom, however, he soon left in tranquillity, to go and attack the Christians, and retake Bavaria.

1150 — All the fruit then that the emperor reaped from his travels to Palestine was a civil war, which at his return he found in Germany under the name of "the holy war." He finds it very difficult, with the assistance of the Bavarians and the rest of Germany, to restrain Henry the Lion and the Guelphs.

1151 — Conrad III. dies at Bamberg, February 15, without having been able to receive the crown in Italy, or leave the kingdom of Germany to his son.

FREDERICK I., SURNAMED BARBAROSSA.

TWENTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1152 — Frederick I. is elected at Frankfort by the unanimous consent of all the princes. His secretary Amandus, in his annals, extracts of which are still preserved, reports that on this occasion several noblemen of Lombardy gave their votes in these terms: "O you officiates (*officiati*), if you consent, Frederick shall have the force of his empire."

Those *officiates* were then six in number. The

archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne were the three chancellors. There was the great master of the horse, the great steward, the great chamberlain, and since that time they have added the great cupbearer. It plainly appears that those *officiati* were the first who acknowledged the elected emperor, who signified the election to the people, and took charge of the ceremonial.

The Italian noblemen were present at this election of Frederick. Nothing is more natural. At Frankfort they thought the Roman Empire was given when they gave the crown of Germany, although the king was not called emperor till after he was crowned at Rome. Barbarossa's predecessor had possessed no authority either in Rome or in Italy, and it was for the interest of the person elected that the great vassals of the Roman Empire should add their suffrages to the votes of the Germans.

The archbishop of Cologne crowns him at Aix-la-Chapelle, and all the bishops give him to understand that he does not possess the empire by right of inheritance. This advertisement was superfluous. The son of the last emperor, whom they abandoned, was a sufficient proof that the empire was not hereditary.

His reign begins with an action of great imposition. Two competitors, Sweyn and Canute, had long disputed the kingdom of Denmark. Frederick makes himself umpire and compels Canute to relinquish his right. Sweyn does homage to the empire for Den-

mark in the city of Merseburg. He takes the oath of allegiance, and is invested by the sword. Thus, in the midst of so many troubles, we see the kings of Poland, Hungary, and Denmark at the feet of the imperial throne.

1153 — The marquisate of Austria is erected into a duchy, in favor of Henry Jasamergot, who was scarcely known, and whose posterity was extinct in about one century after this period.

Henry the Lion, that duke of Saxony of the house of Guelph, obtains the investiture of Bavaria, which he had almost wholly reconquered, and becomes as zealous a partisan of Frederick Barbarossa as he had been an inveterate enemy of Conrad III.

Pope Eugenius III. sends two legates to prosecute the archbishop of Mentz, who is accused of having dissipated the revenue of his church, and the emperor permits the process.

1154 — In return for this condescension, Frederick Barbarossa repudiates his wife, Mary of Vocburg, or Vohenburg, without incurring the displeasure of Pope Adrian IV., who then filled the chair at Rome.

1155 — Frederick resumes the designs of his predecessor upon Italy. He reduces several towns of Lombardy, which wanted to become republics, but Milan resists all his power.

He, in the name of his ward, Henry, son of Conrad III., seizes the lands of Countess Mathilda, is

crowned at Pavia, and sends deputies to desire Adrian IV. to crown him in Rome.

This pope is a great example of what may be done by personal merit and good fortune. Born an Englishman, son of a mendicant, a long time a mendicant himself, strolling from country to country before he could be received as a servant among the monks in Dauphiny, at length raised to the pinnacle of greatness, he had so much the more elevation of spirit, as he had raised himself from the most abject condition. He was inclined to crown a vassal, but afraid of giving himself a master. The preceding troubles had introduced a custom that when the emperor came to be consecrated, the pope and people fortified themselves, and the emperor began by swearing that his holiness should be neither killed, mutilated, nor despoiled.

The holy see was protected, as we have seen, by the king of Sicily and Naples, who had become a dangerous neighbor, though a vassal.

The emperor and pope are aware of each other. Adrian, shut up in the fortress of Città di Castello, agrees to the coronation, as one capitulates with his enemy. A knight, armed at all points, comes and swears to him on the evangelists, that his life and limbs shall be safe, and the emperor delivers into his hands that famous Arnold of Brescia, who had excited the Roman people against the pontificate, and well nigh established the Roman republic.

Arnold is burned at Rome as a heretic, and a republican sacrificed by two sovereigns, who pretended to despotic power.

The pope visits the emperor, who, according to the new ceremonial, was to kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead his white mule for the space of nine Roman paces. The emperor made no scruple to kiss the feet, but he refused to take hold of the bridle. Then the cardinals fled to the Città di Castello, as if Frederick Barbarossa had given the signal for a civil war. He was given to understand that Lotharius II. had accepted of this ceremonial of Christian humility, to which at length he submits, and mistaking the stirrup, says he had not yet learned the business of a groom.

The deputies of the Roman people, being more emboldened since so many towns in Italy had sounded the trumpet of liberty, come and say to Frederick: "We have made you our citizen and prince, stranger as you are," etc. Frederick commands them to be silent, and replies: "Charlemagne and Otho conquered you, I am your master," etc.

Frederick is consecrated emperor in St. Peter's, June 18.

The nature of the empire was so little known, and all the pretensions were so contradictory, that, on one hand, the Roman people took to arms, and a great deal of blood had been shed because the pope had crowned the emperor without the order of the senate and people; and, on the other hand, Pope

Adrian wrote in all his letters that he had conferred upon Frederick the benefice of the Roman Empire — *beneficium imperii Romani.* The word "*beneficium*" then signified a fief.

He moreover exposes in public a picture representing Lotharius II. on his knees before Alexander II. holding his hands clasped between those of the pontiff, the distinguishing mark of vassalage. The inscription of the picture was thus:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Post, homo fit papæ; sumit, quo dante, coronam.

"The king comes to the door, previously swearing he will maintain the honors of the city; then he becomes the vassal of the pope, from whose bounty he receives the crown."

1156 — We see Frederick already very powerful in Germany. For, at his return, he caused the count palatine of the Rhine to be condemned in a diet, for misdemeanors. According to the new law of Suabia, the penalty was that the delinquent should carry a dog upon his shoulders a German mile. The archbishop of Mentz is condemned to the same ridiculous punishment, but they are spared the mortification. The emperor causes several small castles belonging to banditti to be demolished. He marries at Würzburg the daughter of a count of Burgundy, that is, of Franche-Comté, and by this match becomes direct lord of that country holding of the empire.

1157 — The Poles refuse to pay their tribute,

which was then fixed at five hundred marks of silver. Frederick marches towards Poland. The duke of Poland gives his brother as hostage, submits to the tribute, and pays the arrears.

Frederick repairs to Besançon, now become his own demesne, and there receives the pope's legates, together with ambassadors from almost all the princes. He complains to the legates, with great haughtiness, of the term "benefice," used by the court of Rome in mentioning the empire, and of the picture, in which Lotharius II. was represented as a vassal of the holy see. This haughtiness was justified by his glory and his power, as well as by his right. One of the legates having said: "If the emperor does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom then does he hold it?" the count palatine, by way of answer, would have put them to death; however, the emperor sends them back to Rome.

The rights of regality are confirmed to the archbishop of Lyons, acknowledged by the emperor, as primate of the Gauls. The archbishop's jurisdiction is, by this memorable act, extended over all the fiefs of Savoy. The original patent is still extant. The seal is in a little bull or box of gold. It is from this manner of sealing that the name of bull has been given to the constitutions.

1158 — The emperor grants the title of king to Ladislaus, duke of Bohemia, for his life. The emperor then conferred titles for life, even that of monarch, and a person was king by the emperor's

favor, although his dominions were not a kingdom. So that in these beginnings we sometimes find kings and sometimes dukes of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia.

He marches into Italy, and, at first, the count palatine, and the emperor's chancellor, who must not be confounded with the chancellor of the empire, go and receive the oaths of several towns, which oaths were conceived in these terms: "I swear I will always be faithful to my lord, the emperor Frederick, against all his enemies," etc. As he was then at variance with the pope, on account of the adventure of the legates at Besançon, these oaths seem to have been exacted against the holy see.

It does not appear that the popes were then sovereigns of the lands given by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Otho I. The emperor's commissaries exercise all the rights of sovereignty in the march of Ancona.

Adrian IV. sends new legates to the emperor at Augsburg, where he assembles his army. Frederick marches to Milan. This was already the most powerful town of Lombardy, in comparison with which Pavia and Ravenna were but inconsiderable. It had made itself free since the time of the emperor Henry V. and was enriched by the fruitfulness of its territory, but, above all things, in consequence of the liberty it enjoyed.

At the emperor's approach it sent to offer him money for the preservation of its liberty. But Frederick wanted both money and submission.

The town is besieged, and defends itself. The consuls, in a little time, capitulate. It is deprived of the privilege of coining, and all the rights of regality. The inhabitants are condemned to build a palace for the emperor, and pay nine thousand marks of silver. All the citizens take the oath of allegiance. Milan, without a duke or a count, was governed as a conquered town.

Frederick begins to build the new Lodi, on the river Adda. He enacts new laws in Italy, and begins by decreeing that every town convicted of transgressing these laws shall pay one hundred marks of gold, a marquis shall pay fifty, a count forty, and a lord of the manor twenty. He likewise ordains that no fief shall be divided, and as the vassals, in doing homage to the lords of the great fiefs, swore to serve them, without distinction, against every person whatsoever, he decrees that in these oaths the emperor shall always be excepted — a law wisely contrived, and contrary to the feudal customs of France, by which a vassal was obliged to serve his lord in war, even against the king.

The Genoese and Pisans had long ago wrested Corsica and Sardinia from the Saracens, and still disputed the possession with each other — a proof that they were very powerful. But Frederick, more powerful than they, sends commissaries to these two cities, and because he is thwarted by the Genoese, makes them pay a fine of a thousand marks of silver,

and hinders them from continuing to fortify their city.

He re-establishes order in the fiefs of Countess Mathilda, no part of which was possessed by the popes, and gives them to one Guelph, cousin to the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His own nephew, the emperor Conrad's son, is forgotten. At this period the university of Bologna, the first of all the European universities, began to be established, and the emperor bestows privileges upon it.

1159 — Frederick I. began to be more master in Italy than Charlemagne or Otho had been. He weakens the pope by supporting the prerogatives of the Roman senators, and still more by putting troops in winter quarters in his dominions.

Adrian IV., the better to preserve his temporalities, attacks Frederick Barbarossa with spiritual weapons. The question is no longer about investitures performed with a crooked or straight staff, but about the oath, which the bishops take to the emperor. He treats that ceremony as sacrilege, and, in the meantime, inflames the people by underhand insinuations.

The Milanese take this opportunity to recover a small share of liberty. Frederick orders them to be proclaimed rebels and enemies to the empire, and, by an ordinance, their effects are given up to plunder and their persons to slavery, an ordinance which resembles an order of Attila rather than the constitution of a Christian emperor.

Adrian IV. snatches this opportunity of trouble to again demand all the fiefs of Countess Mathilda, the duchy of Spoleto, together with Sardinia and Corsica. The emperor will give him nothing. He besieges Crema, which had taken part with Milan; it is taken and plundered. Milan has some respite, and for some time enjoys the happiness of owing its liberty to its own courage.

1160 — After the death of Adrian IV. the cardinals are divided. One half elects Cardinal Rolando, who takes the name of Alexander III., a declared enemy to the emperor; the other chooses Octavian, his partisan, who calls himself Victor. Frederick Barbarossa, by virtue of his rights as emperor, summons a council at Pavia, to decide between the two competitors. Alexander refuses to acknowledge that council. Victor appears, and the council decides in his favor. The emperor kisses his feet, and leads his horse, as he had before behaved to Adrian.

Alexander III. retires to Agnana, excommunicates the emperor and absolves his subjects of their oath of allegiance. It plainly appears that the pope depended upon the assistance of the kings of Naples and Sicily.

1161 — The Milanese take advantage of these divisions. They have the courage to attack the imperial army at Carentia, a few miles from Lodi, and obtain a great victory. If the other towns of Italy had seconded Milan, this was the moment to

deliver that fine country forever from a foreign yoke.

1162 — The emperor repairs his army and his affairs. The Milanese, being blocked up, are in want of provisions, and capitulate. The consuls and eight knights come to Lodi, and lay their swords at the emperor's feet. He revokes the decree by which the citizens were condemned to servitude and their town to plunder, but as soon as he enters it, on March 27, he orders the gates, ramparts, and all the public edifices to be demolished, and the ruins to be sowed with salt. Neither Huns, Goths, nor Lombards had treated Italy in this manner.

The Genoese, who pretended to be free, come and take the oath of allegiance, and, while they protest that they will not pay annual tribute, give him twelve hundred marks of silver. They promise to equip a fleet to assist the emperor in conquering Sicily and Apulia, and Frederick gives them as a fief what is called The Riviera of Genoa, from Monaco to Porto Venere.

He marches to Bologna, which was confederate with Milan, and, though he protects the colleges, orders the walls to be dismantled. Everything submits to his power.

Meanwhile the empire makes conquests in the North. The duke of Saxony conquers Mecklenburg, the country of the Vandals, and transplants thither German colonies.

To make the triumph of Frederick Barbarossa

complete, his enemy, Pope Alexander III., flies from Italy and retires to France. Frederick goes to Besançon, in order to intimidate the king of France and detach him from Alexander's party.

It is in the zenith of his power that he summons the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary to come at his order and give their votes in a diet against a pope. Waldemar I., king of Denmark, obeys, and repairs to Besançon, where he is said to have taken the oath of fidelity only for the rest of Vandalia, which was abandoned to his conquests. Others allege he renewed the homage for Denmark. If that was the case, he was the last king of Denmark who did homage for his kingdom to the empire. By this circumstance the year 1162 becomes a very important era.

1163 — The emperor goes to Mentz, where the people, excited by the monks, had murdered the archbishop. He orders the walls of the town to be razed, and they were not rebuilt for a long time.

1164 — Erfurt, the capital of Thuringia, a town which the archbishop of Mentz pretended to be lord of since Otho I., is surrounded with walls at the very time when those of Mentz are destroyed.

The establishment of the society of Hanse towns. This union had begun by Hamburg and Lübeck, which carried on some trade in imitation of the maritime towns of Italy. They soon became useful and powerful in furnishing at least the necessaries of life to the North of Germany, and since that time

when Lübeck, which belonged to the famous Henry the Lion, by whom it was fortified, was declared an imperial town by Frederick Barbarossa, and the first of the maritime towns. When it had the privilege of coining money, that money was the best coined in all that country, where till that time none had been struck but of a very base alloy. Hence the money called "sterling," "esterling," (i. e., "easterling"), is supposed to have been derived, and hence London counted by pounds sterling when it was associated with the Hanse towns.

The same thing happens to the emperor that had happened to all his predecessors. Leagues are formed against him in Italy, while he himself is in Germany. Rome leagues with Venice by means of Alexander III. Venice, impregnable by its situation, is formidable for its wealth. It had acquired great riches in the Crusades, in which the Venetians had hitherto no share, except as dexterous merchants.

Frederick returns to Italy and ravages the Veronese, which belonged to the league. Pope Victor dies; he causes another to be consecrated by a bishop of Liège in contempt of all laws. This usurper takes the name of Paschal.

Sardinia was then governed by four bailiffs; one of these, who had amassed wealth, comes and demands the title of king from Frederick, and actually receives it. He trebles the taxes everywhere,

and returns to Germany with money enough to render him formidable.

1165 — A diet at Würzburg against Alexander III. The emperor exacts an oath from all the princes and bishops that they would not acknowledge Alexander. This diet is famous by the deputies of England, who come to give an account of the rights of the king and people against the pretensions of the Church of Rome.

Frederick, in order to make Pope Paschal more considerable, causes him to canonize Charlemagne. Aix-la-Chapelle takes the title of Capital of the Empire, though in effect it was not so. It obtains the privilege of coining money.

1166 — Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, having prodigiously augmented his dominions, the emperor is not sorry to see a confederacy in Germany against that prince. A bold and enterprising archbishop of Cologne joins with several other bishops, together with the count palatine, the count of Thuringia, and the marquis of Brandenburg. A bloody war is carried on against Henry the Lion. The emperor leaves them to fight it out, and repairs again to Italy.

1167 — The Pisans and Genoese plead at Lodi before the emperor for the possession of Sardinia, which neither obtains.

Frederick goes and lays the Pentapolis under contribution, although it had been solemnly ceded to the

popes by so many emperors, and was incontestably the patrimony of the Church.

The league between Venice and Rome, and the hatred inspired by Frederick's despotic power, engage Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara, and other towns, to unite with the Milanese. All these towns and the Romans took arms at the same time.

The Romans attack part of the imperial army near Tusculum. It was commanded by an archbishop of Mentz, very famous in those days, called Christian, and by the archbishop of Cologne. It was a strange spectacle to see these two priests thundering out a German song to animate their troops to battle.

But what strongly denoted the decay of Rome was the fact that the Romans were entirely defeated, though ten times more numerous than the Germans.

Frederick then marches from Ancona to Rome, which he attacks. He burns the town of Leonini, and the church of St. Peter is almost consumed.

Pope Alexander flies to Beneventum. The emperor causes himself to be crowned with the empress Beatrice, by his antipope Paschal, in the ruins of St. Peter.

Thence Frederick marches back with great expedition against the confederate towns. The plague by which his army is desolated for some time, contributes to their safety. The German troops, though victorious over the Romans, were often vanquished by intemperance and the heat of the climate.

1168 — Alexander III. finds the secret of engaging at once in his party Emanuel, emperor of the Greeks, and William, king of Sicily, natural enemy of the Greeks, so much did they think it was for their common interest to unite against Barbarossa.

In effect, these two powers send money and some troops to the pope. The emperor, at the head of an army very much diminished, sees the Milanese rebuild their walls under his very nose, and almost all Lombardy in a conspiracy against him. He retires towards the country of Morienne. The Milanese, emboldened, pursue him to the mountains. He escapes with great difficulty and retreats to Alsace, while he is excommunicated by the pope.

Italy breathes again in consequence of his retreat. The Milanese fortify themselves, and build, at the foot of the Alps, the town of Alexandria, in honor of the pope.

This year Lüneburg begins to be a town.

The bishop of Würzburg obtains civil jurisdiction in the duchy of Franconia. It was in consequence of this grant that his successors have had the direction of the circle of that name.

Guelph, cousin-german of the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, on his death-bed, leaves to the emperor the duchy of Spoleto, and the marquisate of Tuscany, with his right to Sardinia, a country claimed by so many competitors, abandoned to himself and its bailiffs, one of whom called himself king.

1169 — Frederick causes his eldest son, Henry, to be elected king of the Romans, while he himself is on the brink of losing Rome and Italy forever.

Some months after, he causes his second son, Frederick, to be elected duke of Germany, and secures to him the duchy of Suabia. Foreign authors have imagined that Frederick had given all Germany to this son, but it was no more than ancient Germany, properly so called. There was no other king of Germany than the emperor.

1170 — Frederick is no longer recognizable. Instead of going to fight, he negotiates with the pope. His armies and his treasure were then diminished.

The Danes take Stettin. Henry the Lion, instead of assisting the emperor to recover Italy, takes the cross with his Saxon knights, in order to go and fight in Palestine.

1171 — Henry the Lion, finding a truce established in Asia, returns by the way of Egypt. The sultan had a mind to astonish Europe by his magnificence and generosity. He loads the duke of Saxony and Bavaria with presents, and among other things, gives him fifteen hundred Arabian horses.

1172 — At length the emperor convenes a diet at Worms, and demands assistance from Germany to place Italy under his power.

He begins by sending a small army commanded by that same archbishop of Mentz who had defeated the Romans.

The towns of Lombardy were confederated, but jealous one of another. Lucca was a mortal enemy of Pisa, Genoa hated Pisa and Florence, and by these divisions Italy was lost.

Christian, archbishop of Mentz, dexterously succeeds in detaching the Venetians from the league, but Milan, Pavia, Florence, Cremona, Parma, and Bologna are unshaken, and Rome supports them.

Meanwhile Frederick is obliged to go and appease the troubles in Bohemia, where he deposes Ladislaus, and gives the regency to the son of that prince. He could not be more absolute than he was in Germany, or more impotent than he was at that very time on the other side of the Alps.

1174 — At length he passes Mount Cenis, besieges Alexandria, which was built in his absence, and the name of which was odious to him, and begins by signifying to the inhabitants that, if they would have the presumption to defend themselves, he would spare neither age nor sex.

1175 — The Alexandrians, assisted by the confederate towns, make a sally upon the Imperialists, whom they defeat, in imitation of the Milanese. The emperor's disgrace is completed by his being abandoned by Henry the Lion, who retires with his Saxons, very ill disposed towards Barbarossa, who kept for himself the lands of Mathilda.

Italy then seemed to be upon the eve of being freed forever.

1176 — Frederick receives reinforcements from

Germany. The archbishop of Mentz is at the other end of Italy, in the march of Ancona, with his troops.

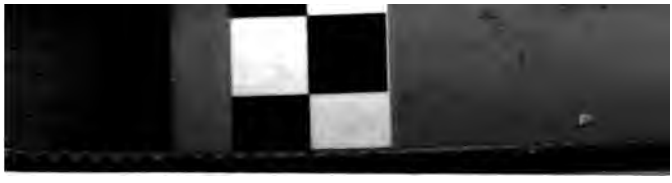
The war is pushed with great vivacity on both sides. The Milanese infantry, armed with pikes, defeats the whole imperial household troops. Frederick escapes with difficulty from the pursuit of the conquerors; he conceals himself and at length takes shelter in Pavia.

This victory was the signal of the liberty of the Italians for several years; they could then be hurt by none but themselves. The haughty Frederick anticipates at last, and solicits Pope Alexander, who had retired long ago to Agnana, equally afraid of the Romans, who would have no master, and of the emperor, who wanted to be master.

Frederick offers him his assistance to retrieve his authority in Rome, to restore the patrimony of St. Peter, and give him part of the lands of Countess Mathilda. A congress is assembled at Bologna.

1177 — The pope causes the congress to be transferred to Venice, where he arrives in the ships of the king of Sicily. The ambassadors of Sicily and the deputies of the Lombard towns are the first who go thither. Christian, archbishop of Mentz, goes to conclude the peace.

It is difficult to explain how that peace, which should have secured the repose of the popes and the liberty of the Italians, was no more than a truce for six years with the Lombard towns, and of fifteen with Sicily. There was no question about



the lands of the countess Mathilde, which had been the basis of the treaty.

Everything being concluded, the emperor repairs to Venice. The duke conducts him in his gondola to St. Mark. The pope waited for him at the gate, with the tiara upon his head. The emperor, without his cloak, conducts him to the chair, with a beadle's staff in his hand. The pope preaches in Latin, which Frederick did not understand. After the sermon, the emperor comes and kisses the pope's feet, takes the communion from his hand, leads his mule in the square of St. Mark, when he comes from church, and Alexander III. cries aloud: "It hath pleased God that an old man and a priest should triumph over a powerful and terrible emperor." All Italy looks upon Alexander III. as its deliverer and father.

The peace was sworn upon the evangelists by twelve princes of the empire. These treaties were hardly ever written at that time. There were few clauses. The oaths were sufficient. Few of the German princes could read or sign their names, and the pen was seldom used but at Rome. This period resembles those savage times called heroic.

Nevertheless, they exact from the emperor a particular act, sealed with his own seal, by which he promises not to disturb the towns of Italy for six years.

1178 — How dared Frederick Barbarossa, after that, pass through Milan, the people of which had defeated him, after he had treated them as slaves?

Thither he went, however, on his return to Germany.

Other troubles harassed that vast, warlike, powerful, and unfortunate country, in which there was not then one town comparable to any of the middling towns of Italy.

Henry the Lion, master of Saxony and Bavaria, still made war upon several bishops, as the emperor had warred against the pope. He sank like him, and even by means of the emperor himself.

The archbishop of Cologne, assisted by one-half of Westphalia, the archbishop of Magdeburg, and a bishop of Halberstadt, were oppressed by Henry the Lion, and did him all the mischief in their power. Almost all Germany embraced their party.

1179 — Henry the Lion is the fourth duke of Bavaria that was put to the ban of the empire in the Diet of Goslar. A powerful army was required to execute this decree. That prince was more powerful than the emperor. He at that time commanded from Lübeck to the middle of Westphalia. He had besides Bavaria, Styria, and Carinthia. His enemy, the archbishop of Cologne, is charged with the execution of the ban.

Among the vassals of the empire who bring troops to the archbishop of Cologne, we see one Philip, count of Flanders, as well as a count of Hainault, a duke of Brabant, and others. This circumstance might make one believe that what is properly called Flanders always considered itself as a member of

the empire, although a part of France. Such uncertainty attends the feudal right.

Duke Henry defends himself in Saxony, takes Thuringia and Hesse, and defeats the army of the archbishop.

The greatest part of Germany is ravaged by that civil war, the natural effect of the feudal government. It is even strange that it did not oftener produce this effect.

1180 — After various successes, the emperor holds a diet in the castle of Gelnhausen, near the Rhine. There the proscription of Henry the Lion is renewed and confirmed. There Frederick gives Saxony to Bernhard of Anhalt, son of Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg. He gives him likewise part of Westphalia. The house of Anhalt must then have become the most powerful in Germany.

Bavaria is granted to Otho, count of Wittelsbach, chief of the emperor's court of justice. From this Otho Wittelsbach are descended the two electoral houses of Bavaria, which after so many misfortunes still exist. They owe their greatness to Frederick Barbarossa.

As soon as those noblemen were invested, each falls upon Henry the Lion, and the emperor puts himself at the head of the army.

1181 — They take from Duke Henry, Lüneburg, of which he was master; they attack Lübeck, of which he was protector, and Waldemar, king of Denmark, assists the emperor in the siege.

Lübeck, which was already rich, dreading to fall under the power of Denmark, surrenders to the emperor, who declares it an imperial town, capital of the towns upon the Baltic, with permission to coin money.

Duke Henry, being no longer able to resist, goes and throws himself at the feet of the emperor, who promises to maintain him in possession of Brunswick and Lüneburg, the remains of so many dominions which are taken from him.

Henry the Lion goes to London with his wife, to his father-in-law, King Henry II. She bears him a son called Otho, who was afterwards emperor, under the name of Otho IV., and from a brother of this Otho IV. are descended the princes who now reign in England, so that the dukes of Brunswick, the kings of England, and the dukes of Modena, are all derived from one common origin, and that origin is Italian.

1182 — Germany is then quiet. Frederick abolishes several barbarous customs; among others, that of plundering the dead, a horrible practice which all the citizens of the towns exercised at the decease of a burgher, at the expense of his heirs, and which always produced bloody quarrels, though movables at that time were of small importance.

All the cities of Lombardy enjoy a profound peace, and display new life.

The Romans still persist in the notion of with-

drawing themselves from the power of the popes, as well as from that of the emperors. They expel from Rome Pope Lucius III., the successor of Alexander.

The same Christian, archbishop of Mentz, still the emperor's general, marches with an army to the assistance of the pope, but dies at Tusculum.

The senate lords it in Rome. Some clerks, supposed to be spies from Pope Lucius III., are sent back to him without their eyes, a piece of inhumanity unworthy of the Roman name.

1183 — Frederick I. declares Ratisbon an imperial town. He detaches Tyrol from Bavaria, and likewise dismembers it of Styria, which he erects into a duchy.

A celebrated congress is held at Placentia, April 30, between the emperor's commissaries and the deputies of all the towns in Lombardy. Even those of Venice were present. They agree that the emperor may exact the oath of fidelity from his vassals of Italy, and that they are obliged to march to his assistance, in case he should be attacked in his journey to Rome, which is called the Roman expedition.

They stipulate that the towns and the vassals shall furnish the emperor in his passage with nothing but ordinary forage and provisions for the month.

The emperor grants them the right of having troops, fortifications, and tribunals, without appeal, in causes to the amount of fifty marks of silver, and

that no cause shall ever be reheard in Germany. If in these towns the bishop has the title of count, he shall preserve the right of electing consuls in his episcopal town, and if the bishop is not in possession of that right, it is reserved to the emperor.

This treaty, which made Italy free under a chief, has been long considered by the Italians as the foundation of their public right.

The marquis of Malaspina and the counts of Crema are therein specially named, and the emperor contracts with them as with the other towns. All the lords of the fiefs in general are therein comprehended.

In all probability the deputies of Venice signed this treaty only for the fiefs they possessed on the continent; as for the city of Venice, it would not put its liberty and independence upon any such compromise.

1184 — A great diet is convened at Mentz, where the emperor again causes his son Henry to be acknowledged king of the Romans.

He knights his two sons, Henry and Frederick; he is the first emperor who thus knighted his sons with the ceremonies then used. The new knight watched his arms; afterwards he was put in the bath; then he came to receive the kiss and cuff in a tunic; his spurs were buckled on by knights; he dedicated his sword to God and the saints; he was clothed with a loose robe; but, what was the most

whimsical part of the farce, was his being served at dinner without being allowed to eat or drink.

The emperor goes to Verona, whither Lucius III. had retired on his expulsion from Rome, and there a small council was held. The question was not to re-establish Lucius at Rome. The subject of debate was the great quarrel about the lands of the countess Mathilda, and nothing was agreed upon. The pope likewise refused to crown young Henry emperor.

The emperor goes and causes him to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, to which place the iron crown was removed from Monza.

1185 — The pope, who had already quarrelled with the Romans, is imprudent enough to quarrel with the emperor, upon the subject of that dangerous inheritance of Mathilda.

A king of Sardinia commands the troops of Frederick. The king of Sardinia is the son of that bailiff who had bought the title of king. He seizes some towns, of which the popes were still in possession. Lucius III., almost stripped of everything, dies at Verona, and Frederick, though the pope's conqueror, cannot be sovereign in Rome.

1186 — The emperor, at Milan, on February 6, marries his son, King Henry, to Constance of Sicily, daughter of Roger II., king of Naples and Sicily, and granddaughter of Roger I. of that name. She was presumptive heiress of that fine kingdom, and this marriage was productive of the most tedious and dreadful misfortunes.

This year ought to be famous in Germany for the custom which one Bertrand, bishop of Metz introduced, of having archives in every town to register the deeds and writings of private estates. Before that time, everything was proved by evidence only, and almost all disputes were decided by combat.

1187 — Pomerania, which after having belonged to the Poles, became a vassal of the empire, and paid a slight tribute, is subdued by Canute, king of Denmark, and becomes a vassal to the Danes. Schleswig, formerly a holding of the empire, becomes a duchy of Denmark. Thus did that kingdom, which itself formerly was held by Germany, deprive the empire at once of two provinces.

Frederick Barbarossa, heretofore so great and powerful, had nothing now but the shadow of authority in Italy, and saw the power of Germany greatly diminished. He retrieves his reputation, in preserving the crown of Bohemia to a duke or king whom his subjects had deposed.

The Genoese build a fort at Monaco, and acquire Gavi.

Great troubles occur in Savoy. The emperor Frederick declares against the count of Savoy, detaches several fiefs from that country, among others, the bishoprics of Turin and Geneva. The bishops of these towns become noblemen of the empire. Hence proceed perpetual quarrels between the bishops and counts of Geneva.

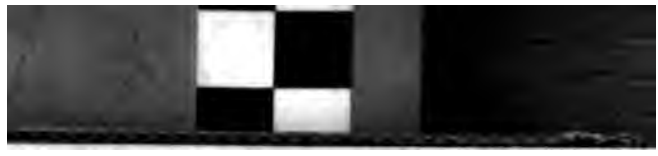
1188 — Saladin, the greatest man of his time, having retaken Jerusalem from the Christians, Pope Clement III. causes a new Crusade to be preached over all Europe.

The zeal of the Germans took fire; we can scarcely conceive the motives that determined the emperor Frederick to march towards Palestine, and at the age of sixty-eight renew an enterprise concerning which a wise prince should have been by this time disabused. What strongly marks the character of the times was that he sends a count of the empire to Saladin to demand in a formal manner, Jerusalem and the true cross.

We here see a remarkable example of the spirit of the times. It was to be feared that Henry the Lion, in the emperor's absence, would make an attempt to recover the dominions of which he had been despoiled. He is obliged to swear that he will make no attempt during the holy war. He swears, and his oath is believed.

1189 — Frederick Barbarossa with his son, Frederick, duke of Suabia, marches through Austria and Hungary with above a hundred thousand Crusaders. If he could have led such an army of volunteers to Rome, he would have been emperor indeed. The first enemies he finds are the Christian Greeks of the empire of Constantinople. The Greek emperor and the Crusaders had always found subject of complaint against each other.

The emperor of Constantinople was Isaac An-



gelus. He refuses to give the title of emperor to Frederick, whom he regards as king of Germany only, and he signifies to him that if he had a mind to obtain a passage he must give hostages. We see in the constitutions of Goldast the letters of these two emperors. Isaac Angelus gives Frederick no other title than that of advocate of the Roman Church. Frederick by way of answer, calls Angelus a dog. Yet after this, we are astonished at the epithets given to one another by Homer's heroes in times still more heroic!

1190 — Frederick, having opened the passage sword in hand, defeats the sultan of Iconium, takes his city, passes Mount Taurus, and dies of the plague after his victory, leaving a reputation famous for inequality and greatness, and a memory much more dear to Germany than to Italy.

He is said to have been buried in Tyre, but we do not really know what place contains the ashes of an emperor who made so much noise in his lifetime. His success in Asia must have been much less solid than shining; for his son, Frederick of Suabia, had no more than an army of about seven or eight thousand fighting men left out of above a hundred thousand who arrived in those parts.

The son soon died of the plague like his father; and nobody remained in Asia but Leopold, duke of Austria, with a few knights. Thus terminated every crusade.

HENRY VI.

TWENTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1190 — Henry VI., already twice acknowledged and crowned during his father's life, does not renew that ceremony, but reigns in full right and power.

Henry the Lion, the old duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who possessed so many towns, had very little regarded the oath he took to abstain from all attempts to recover his fortune. He had already entered Holstein, and his party was espoused by the bishops, particularly the bishop of Bremen.

Henry VI. gives him battle near Verdun, and is conqueror. At last peace is made with that prince, who was so often proscribed and so often in arms. He is left in possession of Brunswick after it is dismantled. He divides with the count of Holstein the title of Lord of Lübeck, which still continues a free town under its lords.

The emperor Henry VI., having secured Germany by this victory and peace, turns his thoughts towards Italy. There he might have been more powerful than Charlemagne and the Othos, as being direct possessor of the lands of Mathilda, king of Naples, in right of his wife, and lord paramount of all the rest.

1191 — He was obliged to look after this inheritance of Naples and Sicily. The noblemen of the country were not at all desirous of seeing that kingdom, which had become flourishing in so little a

time, a subjected province of Germany. The blood of those French gentlemen, who had, by their courage become their kings and countrymen, was very dear to him. They elected Tancred, son of Prince Roger, and grandson of their good king Roger. This prince Tancred was not born of a marriage deemed legitimate. But how many bastards before him have inherited the greatest kingdoms? Besides, the will of the people and election seem the first of all rights.

The emperor treats with the Genoese about furnishing a fleet with which he may go and dispute Apulia and Sicily. Merchants are able to do that which the emperor could not do of himself. He confirms the privileges of the towns of Lombardy, to engage them in his favor. He behaves respectfully to Pope Celestine III., an old man turned fourscore, who, though not a priest, had been elected.

The ceremony of the exaltation of popes in those days, was performed in this manner: As soon as they were nominated, they were clothed with a red cape. They were conducted to a stone pulpit through which there was a hole, called *Stercorarium;* then to a pulpit of porphyry, where they were presented with two keys, that of the church of the Lateran, and that of the palace, the origin of the pope's arms; thence to a third pulpit, where they were presented with a silken girdle, and a purse with twelve stones, in imitation of the ephod of the high priest of the Jews. It is not known at what

period these customs began. Thus was Celestin exalted before he was a priest.

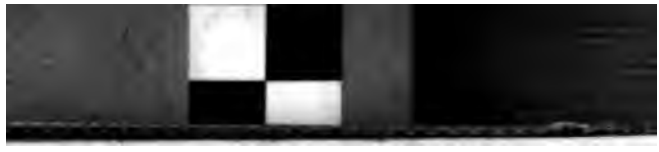
On the emperor's arrival at Rome, the pope caused himself to be ordained priest on Easter-eve; next day he is consecrated bishop, and the day after consecrates Henry VI. with the empress Constance.

Roger de Hoveden, an Englishman, is the only author who relates that the pope kicked down the crown with which the emperor was to be adorned, and that it was set up again by the cardinals. He mistakes an accident for a ceremony. It has been likewise supposed to be a mark of pride, equally brutal and ridiculous. Either the pope doted, or the adventure is not true.

The emperor, in order to render the pope favorable to him in his expedition of Naples and Sicily, restores to him the ancient town of Tusculum. The pope gives it to the Roman people, whose municipal government still subsisted. The Romans demolished it entirely; in this particular they seem to have adopted the destructive spirit of the Goths and Heruli who settled among them.

Nevertheless, old Celestine III., as paramount of Naples and Sicily, dreading a powerful vassal, who would not yield obedience, forbids the emperor to attempt that conquest, a prohibition as ridiculous as kicking the crown, seeing he could not hinder the emperor from marching to Naples.

Diseases always destroy the German troops in hot



and fruitful countries. One half of the imperial army dies upon the way to Naples.

Constance, the emperor's wife, is at Salerno delivered to King Tancred, who generously sends her back to her husband.

1192 — The emperor postpones his enterprise against Naples and Sicily, and goes to Worms. He makes Conrad, one of his brothers, duke of Suabia. He gives to Philip, another brother, who was afterwards emperor, the duchy of Spoleto, which he takes from the house of the Guelphs.

The establishment of the knights of the Teutonic order, destined at first for the service of the sick in Palestine, and since become conquerors. The first house they have in Germany is built at Coblentz.

Henry the Lion renews his pretensions, and resumes his arms. He makes no attempt upon Saxony or Bavaria, but falls again upon Holstein, and loses all that he had left elsewhere.

1193 — At that time Saladin the Great drove all the Christians from Syria. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, after having performed exploits equally admirable and ineffectual, returns like the rest. He was upon bad terms with the emperor, and upon worse with Leopold, duke of Austria, on account of a childish quarrel about a point of honor, which had happened between them in the unfortunate wars of the East. He passes through the duke's territories, and that prince puts him in irons, contrary to the oath of all the Crusaders, contrary to

the respect due to royalty, and contrary to the honor and law of nations.

The duke of Austria delivers his prisoner to the emperor. Eleonora, wife of Richard *Cœur de Lion,* finding herself unable to avenge, offers to ransom her husband. This ransom is said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver. That is about two millions of German crowns; and considering the scarcity of money and the price of provisions, that sum would be equivalent to forty millions of crowns in our time. Historians perhaps have taken one hundred and fifty thousand marks (*marcas*), for a hundred and fifty thousand marks which were no more than half livres. These mistakes are but too common.

Whatever the ransom was, the emperor Henry VI., who had no other right to it than that of banditti, received it as basely as he had unjustly retained Richard. It is likewise said that he compelled him to do homage for the kingdom of England. Vain homage indeed! Richard would have been far from deserving the surname of *Cœur de Lion* if he had stooped to such abject submission.

A bishop of Prague is made duke or king of Bohemia. He purchases his investiture from Henry VI. for a sum of money.

Henry the Lion, now seventy years of age, marries his son, who bears the title of Count of Brunswick, to Agnes, daughter of Conrad, count palatine, the emperor's uncle. Agnes loved the count of

Brunswick; this marriage, to which the emperor consents, reconciles him to the old duke, who dies soon after, leaving Brunswick at least to his descendants.

1194 — It is probable that the emperor Henry VI. ransomed King Richard, and invested the episcopal king of Bohemia on purpose to have wherewithal to conquer Naples and Sicily. Tancred, his competitor, dies. The people choose his son William, though an infant, in his stead; a plain proof that it was not so much Tancred as the nation which disputed the throne of Naples with the emperor.

The Genoese furnish Henry with the fleet they had promised, and to this the Pisans add twelve galleys. The emperor, with these forces furnished by the Italians to enslave Italy, appears before Naples, which surrenders, and while he is besieging Palermo and Catanta in Sicily, Tancred's widow, being shut up in Salerno, capitulates, and yields up the two kingdoms on condition that her son, William, shall have the principality of Tarentum. Thus, a hundred years after Robert and Roger had conquered Sicily, the fruit of the toils of the French knights falls into the hands of the house of Suabia.

The Genoese demand of the emperor the execution of the treaty he had made with them; the restitution of some lands, as therein stipulated, and the confirmation of their privileges in Sicily granted by King Roger. Henry VI. answers to this effect: "When you shall have convinced me that you are

really free, and do not owe me a fleet in quality of vassals, I will keep the promise I have made." Then, joining the most atrocious cruelty to perfidy and ingratitude, he orders Tancred's body to be dug up and decapitated by the hands of the hangman. He orders William, the son of Tancred, to be castrated and sent prisoner to Gaire, where his eyes are put out. The queen, his mother, and her daughters are conducted to Germany and shut up in a convent of Alsace. Henry carries off part of the treasure which had been amassed by the kings. And mankind allow such men to rule them!

1195 — Henry of Brunswick, son of the Lion, obtains the palatinate after the death of the palatine Conrad, his father-in-law.

A new Crusade is published at Worms. Henry VI. promises to go and fight for Jesus Christ.

1196 — The zeal of those expeditions increased by misfortune, just as religions have been strengthened by persecution. A sister of Philip Augustus, king of France, widow of Bela, king of Hungary, puts herself at the head of the German Crusaders, and goes to Palestine to experience the fate of all those who had gone before her. Henry VI. orders another part of the Crusaders' army to march into Italy, where it could be more useful to him than at Jerusalem.

1197 — This is one of the most curious and interesting points of history. The great Belgic chronicle relates that Henry not only caused his son, Frederick

II., a child in the cradle, to be elected by fifty-two noblemen or bishops, but likewise declared the empire hereditary, and decreed that Naples and Sicily should be incorporated forever with the empire. If Henry VI. could make such laws, he made them without doubt; and he was formidable enough to make them without contradiction. Certain it is, his epitaph at Panorma purports that he reunited Sicily to the empire; but the popes soon rendered that reunion ineffectual, and at his death it plainly appeared that the right of election was still dear to the noblemen of Germany.

Meanwhile Henry VI. marches to Naples overland. All the noblemen of that country were incensed against him and a general insurrection was to be feared. He strips them of their fiefs, which he bestows upon the Germans or Italians of his own party. Despair forms the conspiracy which the emperor wanted to prevent. One Count Jordani, of the house of the Norman princes, puts himself at the head of the people. He is delivered up to the emperor, who causes him to be put to death by a torture which one would imagine an imitation of the fabulous tyrants of antiquity. He is tied naked on a chair of red-hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the same metal burning hot, nailed to his head.

1198 — Then the emperor allows the rest of the German Crusaders to depart. They land in Cyprus. The bishop of Würzburg, by whom they are conducted, gives the crown of Cyprus to Emeri de Lus-

ignan, who chose rather to be a vassal of the German than of the Greek empire.

This same Emeri de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, marries Isabella, daughter of the last king of Jerusalem, and hence comes the title of king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, which several sovereigns have disputed in Europe.

The German Crusaders meet with various fortunes in Asia. In the meantime Henry VI. remains in Sicily with a small number of troops, and this security is the cause of his ruin. They conspire at Naples and in Sicily against the tyrant. His own wife, Constance, is the soul of the conspiracy. They betake themselves to arms on all hands. Constance forsakes her cruel husband and puts herself at the head of the conspirators. All the Germans found in Sicily are murdered. This is the first stroke of the Sicilian Vespers, afterwards tolled under Charles of France. Henry is fain to capitulate to his wife: he dies, and, it is said, of poison which his wife gave him, a crime perhaps excusable in a woman who avenged her family and country, if poisoning, and especially poisoning a husband, can ever be justified.

PHILIP I.

TWENTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1198 — At first the noblemen and bishops assembled at Arnsberg, in Thuringia, grant the administration of Germany to Philip, duke of Suabia, uncle

of Frederick II., a minor, who had been already acknowledged as king of the Romans. Thus the true emperor was Frederick II., but other noblemen, being incensed to see an elective empire become hereditary, choose another king at Cologne, and elect the least powerful, in order to be powerful under his name. This pretended king or emperor, called Bertold, duke of a small part of Switzerland, soon renounced the vain honor which he could not maintain. Then the assembly of Cologne elect Otho, duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. The electors were the duke of Lorraine, a count of Kuke, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Minden, Paderborn, the abbot of Corbie, and two other abbots, who were Benedictine monks.

Philip must likewise be nominated emperor, and is elected at Erfurt. Here are four emperors in one year, but not one of them an emperor indeed.

Otho of Brunswick was in England, and Richard, king of England, who had been so unworthily treated by Henry VI. and was justly the enemy of the house of Suabia, espoused the party of Brunswick; of consequence Philip Augustus, king of France, declares for the other emperor Philip.

Here was another opportunity for the towns of Italy to shake off the German yoke. They became daily more and more powerful, but even that power creates divisions among them. Some held for Otho of Brunswick, and others for Philip of Suabia. Pope Innocent III. remains neutral between the competi-

tors. Germany suffers all the mischiefs of a civil war.

1199-1200 — In these intestine troubles of Germany nothing is seen but change of party, agreements made and infringed, and weakness on all sides. Nevertheless Germany is still called the Roman Empire.

The empress Constance stays in Sicily with her son, Prince Frederick. There she was in peace; there she was regent, and nothing could more plainly prove that she had conspired against her husband, Henry VI., than her retaining, in obedience to her son, those very people who had taken arms against the father. Naples and Sicily, in young Frederick, loved the son of Constance, and the blood of their own kings. They did not even regard this Frederick II. as the son of Henry VI., and, in all probability, he really was not; seeing his mother, when she demanded for him the investiture of Naples and Sicily of Pope Celestine III. had been obliged to swear that Henry VI. was his father.

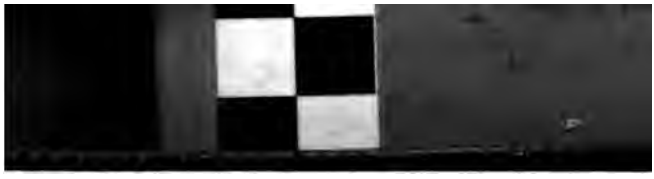
The famous Pope Innocent III., son of a count of Segni, having taken possession of the papal chair, a new investiture was required. Here begins a very singular quarrel, which, after the lapse of above five hundred years, continues still undetermined.

We have seen those knights of Normandy, who became princes and kings of Naples and Sicily, holding at first of the emperors, and afterwards doing homage to the pope. When Roger, as yet no more

than count of Sicily, gave new laws to that island, which he at one time won from the Mahometans and Greeks, when he restored so many churches to the Roman communion, Pope Urban II. solemnly granted him the power of the legates *a latere,* and of legates born of the holy see. These legates judged all ecclesiastical causes in the last appeal, conferred benefices, and levied tithes. Since that time the kings of Sicily were in fact legates and vicars of the holy see, and really popes in their own kingdom. They had in reality the power of the two swords. This sole privilege, which so many kings might have arrogated to themselves, was nowhere known but in Sicily. The successors of Pope Urban II. had confirmed this prerogative, either by good-will or compulsion. Celestine III. had not contested it, but Innocent III. opposed it; treated the legation of the kings of Sicily as having been surreptitiously obtained, and demanded that Constance would renounce it in the name of her son, and do liege, pure and simple homage for Sicily.

Constance dies before this order is obeyed, and leaves to the pope the tutelage of king and kingdom.

1201 — Innocent III. will not own Philip for emperor, but acknowledges Otho, to whom he writes: "By the authority of God derived to us, we receive you, and order you to be obeyed as king of the Romans; and, after the usual preliminaries, we will give you the imperial crown."



Philip Augustus, king of France, partisan of Philip of Suabia, and enemy to Otho, writes to the pope in favor of Philip; and Innocent III. answers: "Either Philip must lose the empire, or I lose the pontificate."

1202 — Innocent III. publishes a new Crusade, in which the Germans have no concern. It was in this crusade that the Christians of the West took Constantinople, instead of assisting the Holy Land; it was this that extended the power and dominions of Venice.

1203 — The northern parts of Germany become weak in these troubles. The Danes make themselves masters of Vandalia, which is part of Russia and Pomerania. It is difficult to ascertain its limits. Were there any limits then in those barbarous countries! Holstein, annexed to Denmark, no longer acknowledged the empire.

1204 — The duke of Brabant acknowledges Philip for emperor, and does him homage.

1205 — Several noblemen follow that example. Philip is consecrated at Aix by the archbishop of Cologne. The civil war continues in Germany.

1206 — Otho, being defeated by Philip near Cologne, flies for refuge to England. Then the pope consents to abandon him. He promises to take off Philip's excommunication, incurred by every prince who calls himself emperor, without the permission of the holy see: he will acknowledge him as lawful emperor, provided he will give his sister in marriage

to a nephew of his holiness, and bestow upon her, by way of dower, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, and the march of Ancona. These are strange proposals: the march of Ancona properly belonged to the holy see. Philip rejects the pope's proposal, choosing rather to be excommunicated than to part with such a dower: nevertheless, by releasing an archbishop of Cologne, who was his prisoner, he obtains his absolution without making the match.

1207 — Otho returns from England to Germany, where he appears seemingly without partisans, though doubtless he must have had private friends, seeing he did return.

1208 — Count Otho, who was palatine in Bavaria, assassinates the emperor at Bamberg, and makes his escape very easily.

OTHO IV.

TWENTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

Otho, in order to strengthen his interest, and unite the factions, marries Beatrice, daughter of the murdered emperor.

Beatrice demands vengeance at Frankfort for her father's death. The Diet puts the assassin under the ban of the empire. Count Papenheim does more: some time after he murders the emperor's murderer.

1209 — Otho IV., still more to corroborate his interest, confirms the rights and privileges of the Italian towns, and even acknowledges those which

"HE MURDERS THE EMPEROR'S MURDERER"

had been arrogated by the popes. He writes to Innocent III: "We will yield you that obedience which our predecessors have yielded to yours." He leaves him in possession of the countries which the pontiff had already recovered—namely, Viterbo, Orvieto, and Perusia. He promises him all the famous inheritance of Mathilda, and he cedes to him the territorial superiority — that is, the supremacy and dependence of Naples and Sicily.

1210 — No greater harmony could possibly appear; but scarcely is he crowned at Rome, when he makes war upon the pope for these very towns.

He had left to the pope the right paramount and charge of Naples and Sicily; and he goes to make himself master of Apulia, the inheritance of young Frederick, king of the Romans, who was stripped at once of the empire and his mother's inheritance.

1211 — Innocent III. can do no less than excommunicate Otho. Excommunication is a mere trifle against an established prince; but a very serious affair against a prince who has enemies.

The dukes of Bavaria and Austria, and the landgrave of Thuringia resolve to dethrone him. The archbishop of Mentz excommunicates him, and the whole faction acknowledges young Frederick II.

Germany is again divided. Otho, on the brink of losing Germany for having attempted to seize Apulia, repasses the Alps.

1212 — The emperor Otho assembles his adherents at Nuremberg. Young Frederick passes the

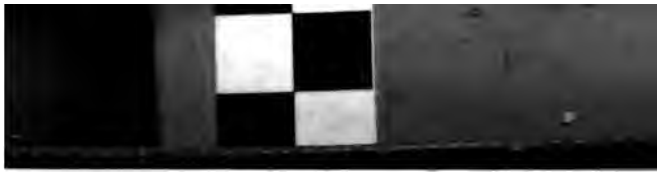
Alps after him, and makes himself master of Alsace, the noblemen of which declare in his favor. He engages Ferri, duke of Lorraine, in his party. Germany is from one end to the other the scene of civil war.

1213 — Frederick II. at length receives the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle from the archbishop of Mentz.

Meanwhile, Otho supports himself, and regains almost everything, when he seems to be on the eve of losing the whole.

He was still protected by England; while his competitor, Frederick II., enjoyed the protection of France. Otho reinforces his party by marrying the daughter of the duke of Brabant, after the death of his wife Beatrice. John, king of England, gives him money to attack the king of France. This John was not yet John Lackland, though he was destined to be so, and became like Otho, most unfortunate.

1214 — It seems very remarkable that Otho, who a year before could scarcely defend himself in Germany, should now be able to make war upon Philip Augustus. But he was followed by the dukes of Limburg and Lorraine, the count of Holland, with all the noblemen of that country, and the count of Flanders, who had been interested by the king of England. It is still problematical whether or not the counts of Flanders, who then did homage to France, were, notwithstanding that homage, considered as vassals of the empire.



Otho marches towards Valenciennes with an army of above a hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, while Frederick II., concealed somewhere about Switzerland, waited the issue of this great enterprise. Philip Augustus was hard pressed between the emperor and the king of England.

Between Lille and Tournay there is a small village called Bovines, near which Otho IV., at the head of an army said to be a hundred and twenty thousand strong, attacked the king, who had scarcely half the number. At that time they began to use cross-bows, machines which threw long and heavy arrows, and which were bent with a tourniquet. This weapon was in use under Louis the Gross. But what decided the fate of a battle was the heavy cavalry, quite covered with iron, consisting of all the lords of the fiefs, and their squires. The knights wore cuirasses, buskins, knee-pieces, brassets, cuisses, and helmets. All this armor was made of iron, and above the cuirass they had a shirt of mail called a "hauberk," from the word "albus." This coat of mail was adorned with a piece of stuff embroidered with the knight's coat of arms. These bearings, which began to be in use, were called coats of arms, because they were figured on the knight's arms, to distinguish him in battle. Squires had no right to wear the hauberks or haubergeon. Their helmets were not faced and closed, consequently not so good a defence. They had no brassets nor cuisses; thus, armed more lightly, they had more agility in mounting a horse,

and could better raise up in battle, those heavy masses of knights, who could not move, or even be wounded but with difficulty. Besides, the complete armor of knights was a prerogative of honor, to which the squires had no pretension; they were not allowed to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to fear was being wounded in the face when he lifted up his beaver, or in the flank, through any defect in cuirass, when he was beaten down, or when his coat of mail was taken off; or lastly in the armpits, when he raised his arms. There were likewise troops of cavalry drafted from the common soldiers, not so well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, every man had what defensive armor he pleased to wear, and his offensive arms were the sword, the arrow, the club, and the sling.

It was a bishop who drew up in line of battle the army of Philip Augustus. His name was Guerin, and he had been appointed to the see of Senlis. There was also at that battle a bishop of Beauvais, who had been long kept prisoner by Richard, king of England. He used a club or mace, saying, he should be irregular if he shed human blood. It is not known in what manner the emperor and king disposed their troops. Philip, before the battle, ordered his army to sing the psalm, "*Exurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus,*" as if Otho had been fighting against God. Formerly the French sang verses in honor of Charlemagne and Orlando. The imperial standard of Otho, fixed in a wagon with four wheels,

according to the custom of Germany and Italy, was a long pole supporting a wooden dragon painted, and above the dragon was a gilded eagle of wood. The royal standard of France was a gilded staff, with an ensign of white silk, powdered with golden fleurs-de-lis; for this ornament called flowers de lis, which was no other than a fancy of the painter, began to be assumed as the armorial bearing of the kings of France. The ancient crowns of the Lombard kings, of which we have exact prints in Muratori, are surmounted with this ornament, which is nothing but the iron head of a lance, bound with two other crooked pieces of iron; this is likewise the figure of several sceptres of the old Lombard kings.

Besides the royal standard, Philip Augustus brought into the field the oriflamme of St. Denis, which was a lance of gilded copper, to which was fixed a red silk flag. When the king was in danger, they raised or lowered one or other of these standards. Every knight had likewise his own, called a pendant, and the great knights, who had other knights under them, were provided with another ensign, called a banner. This term "banner," which is so honorable, was nevertheless common to the ensigns of the infantry, which was almost wholly composed of serfs or people lately made free.

The war cry commonly used by the French was "*Mon Joie St. Denis.*" They said indifferently, "*Mon Joie,*" or "*Ma Joie,*" in the barbarous jargon

of France. The German cry was still, "*Kyrie eleison.*"

The Teutonic army, though very strong in infantry, had fewer knights than that of the king. It is to this difference chiefly that we must attribute the victory in this great battle. Those squadrons of horse caparisoned with steel, carrying men impenetrable to blows, and armed with long lances, could not fail to put in disorder the German soldiery almost naked and disarmed, in comparison of those moving citadels.

A proof that knights who were well armed, ran no other risk than that of being dismounted, and were never wounded except by great accident, is that King Philip Augustus thrown from his horse was for a long time surrounded by enemies, and received strokes from all kinds of arms without losing a drop of blood. It is even reported that as he lay upon the ground, a German soldier attempted to thrust a bearded javelin into his throat, but never could penetrate. No knight was killed in the battle, except William de Longchamp, who unluckily died of a thrust in the eye, which he received through the visor of his helmet.

They reckon on the side of the Germans, five and twenty knights banneret, and seven counts of the empire prisoners, but not one wounded; the real danger at that time fell upon the light horse, and especially the infantry of slaves or freed men, who endured all the fatigue and peril of the war.

The emperor Otho lost the battle. Thirty thousand Germans are said to be killed; a number probably exaggerated. The custom then was to load the prisoners with chains. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were carried to Paris, with shackles on their arms and legs. This was a settled though barbarous custom. Richard *Cœur de Lion,* king of England, said himself, that when he was arrested in Germany, contrary to the law of nations, they loaded him with as heavy chains as he could possibly carry.

With regard to the consequences we do not find that the king of France made any conquest on the side of Germany after his victory at Bovines, but he by this success acquired much more authority over his vassals.

Philip Augustus sends to Frederick in Switzerland, whither he had retired, the imperial car that bore the German eagle. This was a trophy and a pledge of the empire.

FREDERICK II.

TWENTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1214 — Otho being vanquished and totally abandoned, retires to Brunswick, where he is left in peace, because he is no longer formidable. He is not deposed, but forgotten. He is said to have become a devotee: the resource of the unhappy, and the passion of weak minds. His penance is said

to have consisted in his being thrown down and kicked by his kitchen-boys, as if the kicks of a turn-spit could expiate the faults of a prince.

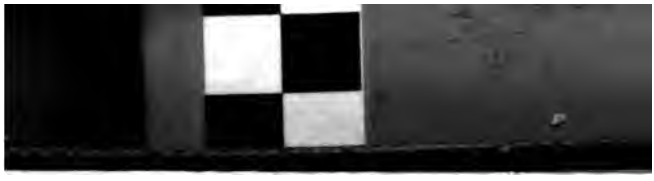
1215 — Frederick II., emperor in consequence of the victory at Bovines, is everywhere acknowledged.

During the troubles of Germany, we have seen that the Danes conquered a great deal of territory to the northward and eastward of the Elbe. Frederick II. began by abandoning these lands by treaty, in which Hamburg is comprehended. But, as a disadvantageous treaty is renounced on the first opportunity, he takes advantage of a quarrel between Otho's brother, count palatine of the Rhine, and the Danes, receives Hamburg into his protection, and afterwards restores it—a shameful beginning of an illustrious reign.

The second coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle. He dispossesses the count palatine, and the palatinate reverts to the house of Bavaria, Wittelsbach.

A new Crusade. The emperor takes the cross. He must certainly have still doubted his own power, seeing he promised to Pope Innocent III. that he would never reunite Naples and Sicily to the empire, but give them to his son as soon as he should be consecrated at Rome.

1216 — Frederick II. remains in Germany with his cross, and entertains more designs on Italy than on Palestine. In vain the Crusade is preached to all the kings. At this time no prince set out but Andrew



II., king of Hungary. That people, who were scarcely Christians, take the cross against the Mussulmans, whom they call infidels.

1217 — The German crusaders depart, nevertheless, under various chiefs by sea and land. The fleet of the Low Countries being detained by contrary winds, affords the crusaders another opportunity of employing their arms usefully in Spain. They join the Portuguese, and defeat the Moors. That victory might have been pursued, and Spain wholly delivered, but Pope Honorius III., the successor of Innocent, will not allow it. The popes commanded the crusaders as the soldiers of God, yet they could send them nowhere but to the East. Men must be ruled according to their prejudices, and those soldiers of the popes would not have obeyed them elsewhere.

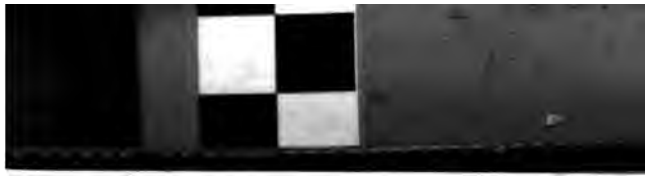
1218 — Frederick II. had great reason to postpone his voyage. The towns of Italy, and Milan in particular, refused to acknowledge a sovereign, who being master of Germany and the two Sicilies, was powerful enough to enslave all Italy. They still held for Otho IV., who lived obscurely in a corner of Germany. Acknowledging him for emperor was in fact declaring themselves entirely free. Otho dies near Brunswick, and Lombardy has no longer a pretext.

1219 — A great diet at Frankfort, where Frederick II. causes his son Henry, a child of nine years, by Constance of Aragon, to be elected king of the

Romans. All those diets were held in the open field, as they are still, in Poland.

The emperor renounces his right to the movables of deceased bishops, and to the revenues of vacant sees. This is what the French call *"la Régale."* He renounces the right of jurisdiction in episcopal towns, where the emperor shall happen to be, unless he there keeps his court. Almost all the first acts of this prince are renunciations.

1220 — He goes to Italy in quest of that empire, which Frederick Barbarossa had not been able to obtain. Milan at first shuts her gates, as to the grandson of Barbarossa, whose memory the Milanese detested. He pockets the affront, and goes to be crowned at Rome. Honorius III. at first demands that the emperor will confirm him in the possession of several territories of the countess Mathilda. To these Frederick adds the territory of Fondi. The pope desires him to renew his oath to go to the Holy Land; the emperor renews that oath, after which he is crowned with all the ceremonies, whether humble or humbling, of his predecessor. He likewise signalizes his coronation by bloody edicts against heretics. Not that heresy was then known in Germany, where ignorance reigned, with courage and disorder, but the inquisition had been established on account of the Albigenses; and the emperor, to please the pope, issued those cruel edicts, by which the children of heretics are excluded from the succession of their fathers.



These laws, confirmed by the pope, were visibly dictated in order to justify the seizure of the estates taken by the Church, and by force of arms, from the house of Toulouse in the war of the Albigenses. The counts of Toulouse had a great many fiefs of the empire. Frederick was absolutely resolved to please the pope. Such laws were neither of a piece with his age or character. Could they possibly have been suggested by his chancellor, Peter de Vineis, who is accused of having written the pretended book of the three impostors, or at least of having harbored the opinion which the title of the book implies?

1221-24—During these years Frederick did things more worthy of remembrance. He embellished and aggrandized Naples, made it the metropolis of the kingdom, and in a little time it becomes the most populous town in Italy. There were still a number of Saracens in Sicily, and they frequently had recourse to arms. He transports them to Lucera in Apulia, hence that town acquired the name of Lucera, or Nocera de Pagani.

The academy or university of Naples is established, and flourishes. There the law is taught, and the Lombard laws gradually give way to the Roman law.

The design of Frederick II. seems to have been to reside in Italy. One is attached to one's native country: his was already embellished; and that the most delightful country of Europe. He spends fifteen years without going to Germany. Why should

he have so much flattered the popes, and respected the towns of Italy, if he had not conceived the idea of establishing at last the seat of the empire at Rome? Was not that the only way of extricating himself from that equivocal situation in which all the emperors reigned? — a situation become still more perplexing, since the emperor was at once king of Naples, and vassal of the holy see, and had promised to dismember Naples and Sicily from the empire. All this confusion would have been at last unravelled, had the emperor been master of Italy, but destiny otherwise ordained.

It likewise appears that the pope's great design was to rid his hands of Frederick, by sending him to the Holy Land. In order to accomplish this design he had, after the death of Constance of Aragon, persuaded him to marry one of the pretended heiresses of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been long lost. John of Brienne, who assumed the empty title of king of Jerusalem, founded on his mother's claim, gave his daughter, Jolanda, or Violante, in marriage to Frederick, with Jerusalem as her dower — in other words, almost nothing at all— and Frederick married her because she was handsome, and he chose to please the pope. Since that time, the kings of Sicily have always taken the title of king of Jerusalem. Frederick was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, which consisted only of a claim to a small maritime territory, still possessed by the Christians in Syria.

1225 — During the preceding, and in the following years, young Henry, the emperor's son, resided constantly in Germany. A great revolution happens in Denmark, and in all the provinces that border on the Baltic. The Danish king, Waldemar, had made himself master of those provinces which were inhabited by the western Slavs and the Vandals. From Hamburg to Dantzic, and from Dantzic to Revel, the whole country acknowledged Waldemar.

A count of Schwerin, in Mecklenburg, who had become vassal to that king, forms the design of carrying off Waldemar, and the hereditary prince, his son, and this design he executes at a hunting-match, May 23, 1223.

The king of Denmark being prisoner, implores the assistance of Pope Honorius III., who commands the count of Schwerin and the other German lords who were concerned in this enterprise to set the king and his son at liberty. The popes pretended to have bestowed the crown of Denmark, as well as those of Poland and Bohemia. The emperors likewise pretended to have bestowed it. The popes and emperors, who were not masters in Rome, always disputed the right of making kings at the extremity of Europe. They paid no regard to the command of Honorius. The knights of the Teutonic order join the bishop of Riga in Livonia, and make themselves masters of part of the coast of the Baltic.

Lübeck and Hamburg re-enjoy their liberty and rights. Waldemar and his son, after having been

stripped of almost all they had in that country, are set at liberty, in consequence of giving a very large ransom.

Here we find a new power insensibly established—that is, the Teutonic order, which has already a grand master, together with fiefs in Germany, and conquers territories lying on the Baltic.

1226 — This grand master of the Teutonic order solicits in Germany new aid for Palestine. Pope Honorius presses the emperor to leave Italy as soon as possible, and go and accomplish his vow in Syria. It must be observed that there was at this time a truce of nine years existing between the sultan of Egypt and the crusaders. Frederick II. therefore had no vow to accomplish. He promises to maintain knights in Palestine and is not excommunicated. He ought to have established himself in Lombardy, and afterwards in Rome, rather than in Palestine. The Lombard towns had time to enter into an association. They were called the confederate towns. Milan and Bologna were at their head, and they were no longer considered as subjects, but as vassals of the empire. Frederick II. was desirous of attaching them to him at least, and this was a difficult task. He convokes a diet at Cremona, and summons the Italian and German noblemen to attend.

The pope, fearing the emperor would assume too much authority in this diet, involves him in affairs in Naples. He appoints bishops to five vacant sees in that kingdom without consulting Frederick. He

forbids several towns and noblemen to go to the assembly at Cremona. He supports the rights of the associated towns, and makes himself defender of the Italic liberty.

1227 — A fine triumph for Honorius III.; the emperor having put Milan to the ban of the empire, and transferred to Naples the university of Bologna, admits the pope as judge. All the towns submit to his decision. The pope, as umpire between the emperor and Italy, pronounces sentence: "We decree that the emperor shall forget his resentment against all the towns, and we decree that the towns shall furnish and maintain four hundred knights for the assistance of the Holy Land, during the term of two years."

This was a declaration worthy at once of a sovereign and pontiff. Having determined in this manner between Italy and the emperor, he fits as judge of Waldemar, king of Denmark, who had taken an oath to pay the rest of his ransom to the German lords, and sworn that he would never retake what he had yielded. The pope absolves him of an oath taken in prison and on compulsion. Waldemar re-enters Holstein, but is defeated. His nephew, the lord of Lüneburg and Brunswick, who fights for him, is taken prisoner; nor is he released until he has yielded up some territories. All these expeditions are still civil wars. Germany is for some time quiet.

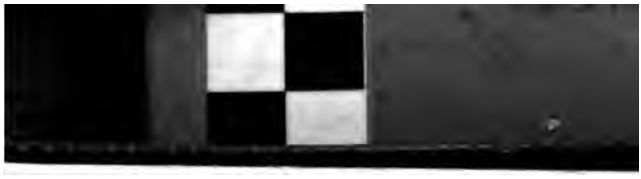
1228 — Honorius III., dying, and Gregory IX., brother of Innocent III., succeeding, the politics of

the pontificate continued the same; but the humor of the new pontiff was more haughty. He hastens the Crusade, and presses the so-often promised departure of Frederick II. He thought he must send that prince to Jerusalem, in order to prevent his coming to Rome. This spirit of the times made people look on that prince's vow as an indispensable duty. Upon the first delay of the emperor, he is excommunicated by the pope. Frederick still dissembles his resentment, excuses himself, prepares his fleet, and exacts of each fief of Sicily and Naples eight ounces of gold for his voyage: even the ecclesiastics supply him with money, notwithstanding the prohibition of the pope. At length he embarks at Brindisi, though his excommunication is not taken off.

1229 — What step does Gregory IX. take while the emperor goes to the Holy Land? He takes advantage of that prince's having neglected his absolution, or rather of his contempt for the excommunication, and joins with the Milanese, and the other confederate towns, in order to wrest from him the kingdom of Naples, which he was afraid would be incorporated with the empire.

Rinaldo, duke of Spoleto and vicar of the kingdom, takes the march of Ancona from the pope. Then his holiness preaches a crusade in Italy, even against Frederick II., whom he had sent upon a crusade to the Holy Land.

He sends an order to the titular patriarch of Jeru-



salem, residing at Ptolemais, not to acknowledge the emperor. Frederick, still dissembling, concludes with Melescala, whom we call Meledin, sultan of Egypt and master of Syria, a treaty by which the aim of his crusade seems to have been fulfilled. The sultan cedes Jerusalem to him, with some small maritime towns of which the Christians were still in possession; but upon condition that he shall not reside at Jerusalem; that the mosques built in those holy places shall subsist, and that there shall be always an emir in the city. Frederick is supposed to have had some collusion with the sultan, in order to deceive the pope. He goes to Jerusalem with a very small escort and there crowns himself, for no prelate would crown a person who was excommunicated. He soon returns to the kingdom of Naples, where his presence was much wanted.

1230 — He finds in the territory of Capua his brother-in-law, John de Brienne, at the head of the papal crusade. The pope's crusaders, who were called Guelphs, bore the sign of the cross-keys on the shoulders—whereas the emperor's crusaders, who were called Ghibellines, wore the cross. The keys fled before the cross.

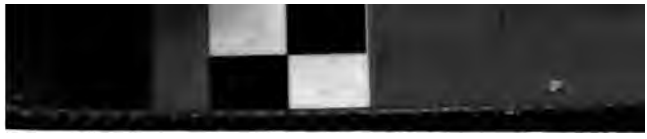
All Italy was in combustion, and peace being greatly wanted, was made July 23, at San Germano. All that the emperor got was absolution. He consents that, for the future, all benefices shall be given by election in Sicily; that no clerk, within his two kingdoms, shall be brought before a lay-

judge; that all ecclesiastical estates shall be exempted from taxes; and, in fine, he gives money to the pope.

1231 — Hitherto Frederick II., who is painted as the most dangerous, seems to have been the most patient of men; but it is pretended that his son was ready to rebel in Germany, and that this consideration made the father so flexible in Italy.

1232-34 — It is very clear that the emperor's sole design in staying so long in Italy was to found a true Roman empire. Master as he was in Naples and Sicily, if he had assumed the authority of the Othos in Lombardy he must have been master also in Rome. This was his only crime in the eyes of the popes, and those popes who persecuted him with such violence were always regarded by part of Italy as the supporters of the nation. The party of the Guelphs was that of liberty. In such circumstances Frederick ought to have had large treasures, and a great and well-disciplined army always on foot. This is what he never had. Otho IV., much less powerful than he, had an army of near one hundred and thirty thousand men in the field against the king of France, but he did not keep it in pay, and it was a transient effort of vassals and allies united for a moment.

Frederick might have caused his vassals to march from Germany to Italy. Pope Gregory IX. is said to have prevented this scheme by exciting Henry, king of the Romans, to revolt against his father, as



Gregory VII., Urban II., and Paschal II. had armed the children of Henry IV.

The king of the Romans at first engages in his party several towns along the Rhine and the Danube. The duke of Austria declares in his favor. Milan, Bologna, and other towns of Italy engage in that party against the emperor.

1235 — Frederick II. at length returns to Germany after an absence of fifteen years. The marquis of Baden defeats the rebels. Young Henry comes and throws himself at his father's feet in the great diet in Mentz. It is in these famous diets, these parliaments of princes, where the emperors preside in person, that the greatest affairs of Europe are always treated of with the utmost solemnity. The emperor, in this memorable diet in Mentz, deposes his son, Henry, king of the Romans, and dreading the fate of Louis the Weak, surnamed "*Le Débonnaire,*" as well as that of the courageous and too easy Henry IV., he condemns his rebellious son to perpetual imprisonment. He in that diet secures the duchy of Brunswick to the house of Guelph, in whose possession it still remains. He solemnly receives the canon law published by Gregory IV., and orders the decrees of the empire, for the first time, to be published in the German language, though he himself did not love that tongue, but cultivated the romance to which the Italian succeeded.

1236 — He gives it in charge to the king of

Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, and some bishops, who were enemies to the duke of Austria, to make war on that duke, as vassals of the empire, who maintain its rights against rebels.

He returns to Lombardy, though with a few troops, consequently can undertake no effectual expedition. Some towns, as Vicenza and Verona, being abandoned to plunder, render him more odious to the Guelphs, without making him more powerful.

1237 — He comes to Austria, which was defended by the Hungarians. He subdues it; founds a university at Vienna; confirms the privileges of some imperial towns, such as Ratisbon and Strasburg; causes his son, Conrad, to be acknowledged king of the Romans, in the room of Henry; and at length, after this success in Germany, thinks himself strong enough to accomplish his grand scheme of subduing Italy. Thither he flies, takes Mantua, and defeats the army of the confederates.

The pope, who now saw him making long strides towards the execution of his great design, makes a diversion through the affairs of the Church; and, under pretence that the emperor had caused clerks to be tried in lay-courts, excites all Italy against him, and the Church excites the people.

1238-39 — Frederick II. had a bastard, called Enzius, whom he had made king of Sardinia; another pretext for the pontiff, who pretended that Sardinia held of the holy see.

This was still Pope Gregory IX. The different

names of the popes never make any alteration in the state of affairs; it is always the same quarrel and the same spirit. Gregory IX. solemnly excommunicates the emperor twice in passion week. They write bitterly against each other. The pope accuses the emperor of having affirmed that mankind had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet. Frederick calls Gregory Antichrist, Balaam, and the Prince of Darkness.

The emperor's patience was at length exhausted, and he believed himself powerful. The Dominicans and Franciscans, the spiritual militia of the pope, lately established, are expelled from Naples and Sicily. The Benedictines of Monte Cassino share the same fate, no more than eight being left to do duty; and the pope's letters are forbidden to be received in the two kingdoms on pain of death.

All these proceedings tend more and more to inflame the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Venice and Genoa join the towns of Lombardy. The emperor marches against them, and is defeated by the Milanese. This is the third signal victory by which the Milanese have supported their liberty against the emperors.

1240 — There is now no room to negotiate, as the emperor had always done. He augments his troops and marches to Rome, where there was a strong party of Ghibellines. Gregory IX. exposes the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; harangues the people in their name; inflames their minds; and profits by

that moment of enthusiasm to make a crusade against the emperor.

That prince finding it impracticable to enter Rome goes and ravages the Beneventine. Such was the power of the popes in Europe; and the name of "crusade" was become so sacred, that the pope obtains a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues in France, and a fifth in England for his crusade against the emperor.

He offers by his legates the imperial crown to Robert d'Artois, brother of St. Louis. He says, in his letter to the king and baronage of France: "We have condemned Frederick, who calls himself emperor, and deprived him of the empire. We have elected in his place Prince Robert, the king's brother, whom we will support with all our power, and by all kinds of means."

This indiscreet offer was refused. Some historians say, in quoting Matthew Paris, the barons of France answered that it was enough for Robert d'Artois to be brother of a king who was above the emperor. They even pretend that the ambassadors of Louis said the same thing, in the same terms, to Frederick. But it is by no means probable that they would make such an indecent, rude answer, so little founded on truth, and which could be of no signification.

The answer of the barons of France, as Matthew Paris relates it, is not more likely. The chief of those barons were all the bishops of the kingdom.

Now is it very probable that all the barons and all the bishops, in the time of St. Louis, should make this reply to the pope: "*Tantum religionis in Papa non invenimus, qui eum debuit promovisse, et Deo militantem protexisse, eum conatus est absentem confundere et nequiter supplantare.*" "We do not find so much religion in the pope, who ought to have promoted and protected him as a soldier of God; whereas he hath endeavored to confound and wickedly supplant him in his absence."

A reader endowed with the least share of common sense will see that a nation in a body could not return such an insolent answer to the pope who offered them the empire. How could the bishops write to the pope that the unbelieving Frederick II. had more religion that his holiness? This should teach us to distrust those historians who erect their own private notions into public monuments.

1241 — About this time the people of Great Tartary threatened the rest of the world. That vast reservoir of brutal and warlike men had vomited its inundations over almost our whole hemisphere from the fifth century of the Christian era. Part of those conquerors had come and wrested Palestine from the sultan of Egypt, and the small number of Christians who still remained in that country. More considerable hordes of Tartars under Batu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, had been as far as Poland and Hungary.

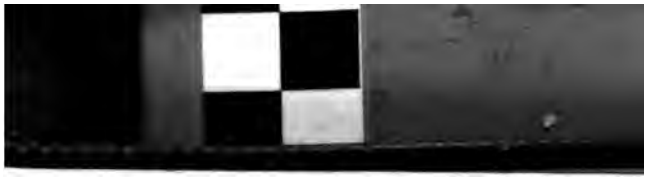
The Hungarians, mixed with the Huns, formerly

countrymen of those Tartars, had been vanquished by the newcomers. This torrent had spread in Dalmatia, and thus extended its ravages from Pekin to the frontiers of Germany. Was this a time for a pope to excommunicate the emperor and assemble a council to depose him?

Gregory IX. convokes that council. One can scarce conceive how he could propose to the emperor to make a total cession of the empire and all his dominions to the holy see, as the only effectual means of a reconciliation. The pope, nevertheless, makes this proposal. What must have been the spirit of an age in which these proposals were made?

1242 — The eastern part of Germany is delivered from the Tartars, who retreat like wild beasts after they have seized their prey. Gregory IX. and his successor, Celestine IV., dying almost in the same year, and the holy see having been long vacant, it is surprising that the emperor should press the Romans, even at the head of an army, to elect a new pope. One would think it was for his interest that the chair of his enemies should not be filled, but the motives that influenced the politics of those times are very little known. Certain it is, Frederick II. must have been a wise prince, feeling that in those times of trouble Germany and his kingdom of Naples and Sicily were in tranquillity.

1243 — The cardinals, assembled at Agnana, elect Cardinal Fiesco, a Genoese of the family of the



counts of Lavagna, attached to the emperor, who says: "Fiesco was my friend; the pope will be my enemy."

1244 — Fiesco, known by the name of Innocent IV., does not proceed so far as to demand that Frederick II. would yield the empire to him, but he demands the restitution of all the towns of the ecclesiastical state, and of the countess Mathilda, and insists on the emperor's doing homage for Naples and Sicily.

1245 — Innocent IV., on the emperor's refusal, assembles in Lyons the council summoned by Gregory IX. This is the thirteenth general council. It may be asked why this council was held in an imperial town? This town was protected by France; the archbishop was a prince, and in those provinces the emperor had nothing else than the vain title of "Lord Paramount."

There were but one hundred and forty bishops at this general council, but it was adorned with the presence of several princes, especially of Baldwin de Courtenai, emperor of Constantinople, who was placed on the pope's right hand. That monarch was come to ask favors, which he did not obtain.

Frederick did not neglect to send ambassadors for his defence at this council, where he was to be accused. Innocent IV. pronounced against him two long harangues in the first two sessions. A monk of the order of Citeaux, bishop of Carniola, near Garillan, who was expelled from the kingdom of

Naples by Frederick, accuses him in form. There is not now any regular tribunal which would admit of the accusations alleged by that monk. "The emperor," says he, "believes neither in God nor in the saints." But who had told the monk so? "The emperor has several wives living at one time." But who were those wives? "He carries on a correspondence with the sultan of Babylon." But why may not the titular king of Jerusalem treat with his neighbor? "He is of opinion with Averroës, that Jesus Christ and Mahomet were impostors." But in what place has Averroës said so much, and how is it proved that the emperor is of his opinion? "He is a heretic." But what is heresy? and how can he be a heretic, if he is no Christian?

Thaddeus Sessa, Frederick's ambassador, answers that this monkish bishop has told a lie, that his master is a very good Christian, and does not tolerate simony. In these words he plainly enough accuses the court of Rome.

The ambassador of England goes further: "You draw," says he, "by your Italians, above sixty thousand marks a year from the kingdom of England; you tax all our churches; you excommunicate those who complain. We shall not long suffer such imposition."

All these remonstrances serve only to hasten the pope's sentence. "I pronounce," says Innocent IV., "Frederick convicted of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated and deprived of the empire. I

order the electors to choose another emperor, and save to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily."

After having pronounced this sentence, he thunders a *Te Deum,* as it is now performed after a victory. The emperor was in Turin, which then belonged to the marquis of Susa. He calls for the imperial crown, which the emperors always carried about with them, and setting it on his head, says: "The pope has not yet deprived me of this, and before he does, there will be a great deal of bloodshed." He sends a circular letter to all the Christian princes: "I am not the first," said he, "whom the clergy have treated in such an unworthy manner, and I shall not be the last. You are the cause of all this, in obeying those hypocrites whose boundless ambition you know. What a number of infamous practices will you not discover in Rome, at which human nature must shudder?" etc.

1246 — The pope writes to the duke of Austria, expelled from his dominions, to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brabant, to the archbishops of Cologne, Trier, and Mentz, and to the bishops of Strasburg and Spires, ordering them to elect for emperor, Henry, landgrave of Thuringia. The dukes refuse to come to the diet convoked at Würzburg, and the bishops crown their Thuringian, whom they call the "King of Priests."

Here are two important circumstances to be observed: First, it is plain the electors were not

seven in number; secondly, Conrad, the emperor's son, king of the Romans, was comprehended in the excommunication of his father, and divested of all his rights as a heretic, according to the law of the popes and that of his own father, who had published it at a time when he wanted to ingratiate himself with the popes.

Conrad supports his father's cause and his own. He gives battle to the king of the priests near Frankfort, but is worsted. The Landgrave of Thuringia dies in besieging Ulm, but the imperial schism does not end.

It was probably in this year that Frederick II., having but too many enemies, reconciles himself to the duke of Austria, and in order to attach him to his interest, bestows on him and his descendants the title of king, by a patent still preserved at Vienna. This patent is without a date. It is very strange that the dukes of Austria never made use of it. In all likelihood the princes of the empire opposed this new title bestowed by an excommunicated emperor, whom one-half of Germany began to renounce.

1247 — Innocent IV. offers the empire to several princes. All refuse so tempestuous a dignity. It is accepted by one William, count of Holland, a young nobleman twenty years of age. The greatest part of Germany does not acknowledge him; it is the pope's legate who appoints this emperor at Cologne, and invests him with the order of knighthood.

1248 — Two factions are formed in Germany, as violent as those of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy. One sticks to Frederick and his son Conrad, the other adheres to the new king, William. This is what the pope wanted. William is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne. The festivals that attended this coronation are bloodshed on every hand, and towns reduced to ashes.

1249 — The emperor is now no more in Italy than the chief of a faction in a civil war. His son Enzio, whom we call Enzius, is defeated by the Poles, falls into their hands as a prisoner, and his father cannot obtain his liberty even for money.

Another fatal adventure disturbs the last days of Frederick II., provided the adventure be such as is related. His famous chancellor, Peter de Vineis, or rather de la Vigna, his counsellor, his oracle, and friend of thirty years' standing, restorer of the laws in Italy, is said to have attempted to poison him by the hands of his physician. Historians differ about the year of this event, and that difference may create some suspicion. Is it credible that the first magistrate in Europe, a venerable old man, should hatch such an abominable treason? and for what reason? to please the pope, who was his enemy. Where could he hope for a more considerable fortune? What better post could the physician have than that of being physician to the emperor?

Certain it is, Peter de Vineis had his eyes put out. This is not the punishment of one who poisons his

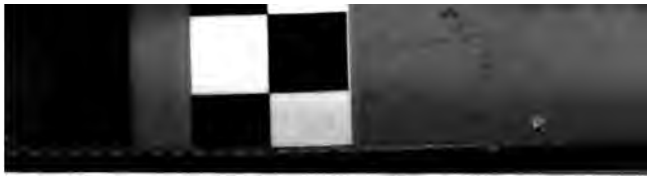
master. Several Italian authors pretend that a court intrigue was the cause of his disgrace, and provoked Frederick II. to this cruelty, and the account is very probable.

1250 — Meanwhile, Frederick makes another effort in Lombardy. He even orders some troops to pass the Alps, and alarms the pope, who was still at Lyons under the protection of St. Louis; for that king of France, while he blamed the excesses of the pope, respected his person and his council. This was Frederick's last expedition.

1251 — He dies December 17. Some believe he felt remorse for the treatment he had given to Peter de Vineis, but it appears by his will that he repented of nothing he had done. His life and death make a very important era in history. Of all the emperors he was the man who endeavored most to establish the empire in Italy, and who succeeded least, possessing all the requisites for success.

The popes, who would have no masters, and the towns of Lombardy, which so often defended their liberty against a master, prevented the possibility of there being a Roman emperor.

Sicily, but especially Naples, was his favorite kingdom. He increased and embellished Naples and Capua, built Alitea, Monteleone, Flagella, Dondona, Aquila, and several other towns; founded universities, and cultivated the liberal arts in those climates where the fruit seems to come spontaneous, and one circumstance that endeared his native coun-



try to him was that he himself was the legislator of it. In spite of his understanding, courage, application, and labors, he was very unfortunate, and his death produced still greater misfortunes.

CONRAD IV.

TWENTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

Conrad IV., son of Frederick II., has a better title to be ranked among the emperors than those who are placed between the descendants of Charlemagne and the Othos. He had been twice crowned king of the Romans. He succeeded a respectable father, and William, count of Holland, his competitor, who was likewise called the King of the Priests, as well as the Landgrave of Thuringia, had no other right than the pope's order and the suffrages of some bishops.

Conrad at first suffers a defeat near Oppenheim, but still supports himself. He forces his competitor to quit Germany. He goes to Lyons to visit Pope Innocent IV., who confirms him king of the Romans, and promises to give him the imperial crown at Rome.

It was becoming usual to preach crusades against Christian princes. The pope ordered one to be preached in Germany against Emperor Conrad and another in Italy, against Manfredo, or Mainfroy, natural son of Frederick II., at that time faithful to his brother and the last will of his father.

This Mainfroy, prince of Tarentum, governed Naples and Sicily in the name of Conrad. The pope caused Naples and Mantua to revolt against him. Conrad marches thither, and seems to abandon Germany to his rival, William, that he might go and second his brother, Mainfroy, against the crusades of the pope.

1252 — During that time William of Holland establishes himself in Germany. We may here observe an adventure, which proves how long all rights continued uncertain, and all limits confounded. A countess of Flanders and Hainault is at war with John Davennes, her son by a former marriage, for the right of succession of that very son to his mother's lands. St. Louis is chosen arbitrator. He adjudges Hainault to Davennes, and Flanders to the son of the second marriage. John Davennes says to King Louis: "You give me Hainault, which does not depend on you; it holds of the bishop of Liège, and is an under fief of the empire. Flanders really holds of you, and you withhold it from me."

It was not then decided of what prince Hainault held. Flanders was another problem. All the country of Alost was fief of the empire, as well as all that bordering on the Scheldt. But the rest of Flanders, from Ghent, held of the kings of France. Meanwhile, William, as king of Germany, puts the countess to the ban of the empire and confiscates all her estate for the advantage of John Davennes, in

the year 1252. This affair was at last accomplished, but it shows what inconveniences attend the feudal right. It was still worse in Italy, especially for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

1253-54 — These years, which, as well as the following, are called the years of interregnum, though productive of confusion and anarchy, are nevertheless worthy of consideration.

The house of Morienne and Savoy, which espouses the party of William, receives from him the investiture of Turin, Montcalier, Jurea, and several fiefs, which make it a very powerful family.

In Germany, the towns of Frankfort, Mentz, Cologne, Worms, and Spires, associate together for the benefit of trade, and to defend themselves from the country gentlemen who were so many robbers. This union of the towns on the Rhine was not so much an imitation of the confederacy of the towns of Lombardy, as of the first Hanse towns, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Brunswick.

In a little time the greatest part of the towns of Germany and Flanders engage in the Hanse. The principal object is to maintain vessels and barks at the common expense, for the security of commerce. A bill of one of these towns passes current in all the rest. The confidence of trade is established. Merchants, by means of this alliance, do more service to society than ever was done by so many emperors and popes.

The city of Lübeck alone is already so powerful

that in a civil war which was kindled in Denmark, it equips a fleet at its own expense.

While the trading towns secure these temporal advantages, the knights of the Teutonic order resolve to procure that of Christianity to the rest of the Vandals who lived in Prussia and the neighborhood. Ottocar II., king of Bohemia, takes the cross with them. All the kings of Bohemia took the name of Ottocar, since they had espoused the party of Otho IV. They defeat the Pagans, and the two Prussian chiefs receive baptism. Ottocar rebuilds Königsberg.

Other scenes open in Italy. The pope still maintains the war, and insists on disposing of Naples and Sicily. But he cannot recover his own demesnes, nor those of the countess Mathilda. We always see the popes powerful abroad, in consequence of the excommunications which they thunder forth and the divisions they foment, but very impotent in Italy, and especially in Rome.

The factions of the Ghibellines and the Guelphs divided and desolated Italy. They had begun from the quarrels between the popes and the emperors. These names had been everywhere a word of banter in the time of Frederick II. Those who pretend to acquire fiefs and titles which were bestowed by the emperors, declared themselves Ghibellines. The Guelphs seemed more the partisans of the Italic liberty. The Guelph party in Rome was indeed for the pope, when the business was to unite against

the emperor, but the same party opposed the pope when the pontiff, freed from a master, wanted to become master himself in his turn. These factions were again subdivided into several different parties, and served to nourish discord in towns and families. Some old captains of Frederick II. employed these names of faction, which inflamed the minds of men, to enlist people under their colors, and cloaked their robberies with the pretext of supporting the rights of the empire. Robbers of another gang pretended to serve the pope who gave them no such commission, and ravaged Italy in his name. Among those robbers who rendered themselves famous, there was a partisan of Frederick II., called Ezzelino, who had well nigh established a great dominion and entirely changed the face of affairs. He is still famous for the ravages he committed. Booty enabled him to raise an army, and had he been always favored by fortune, he must have become a conqueror. But at last he was taken in an ambuscade, and Rome, which dreaded him, was delivered of her fear. The Guelph and Ghibelline factions were not extinguished in him. They existed for a long time, and were very violent, even while Germany was without a real emperor, during the interregnum that succeeded Conrad's death, and could no longer serve as a pretext for these troubles. A pope in these circumstances had a very difficult place to fill. Obliged as a bishop to preach peace in the midst of war, being at the head of the Roman government, without

power to attain absolute authority, under the necessity of defending himself against the Ghibellines, and of managing the Guelphs, and above all things, in fear of an imperial house that possesses Naples and Sicily; every part of his situation was precarious. The popes, since Gregory VII., had always this in common with the emperors: the title of masters of the world, and a power that was very circumscribed. And if we attentively consider the subject we shall see that from the very first successors of Charlemagne, the Empire and the Church are two problems of very difficult solution.

Conrad sends for one of his brothers, to whom Frederick II. had given the duchy of Austria. This young prince dies, and is suspected of having been poisoned by Conrad, for at this time the death of every prince who did not die of old age was imputed to poison. Conrad IV. dies soon after, and Mainfroy is accused of having despatched him by the same means.

The emperor, Conrad IV., who died in the flower of his age, left a child, that unhappy Conradin, of whom Mainfroy becomes the guardian. Pope Innocent IV. persecutes in this infant the memory of his fathers. Finding that he cannot make himself master of the kingdom of Naples, he offers it to the king of England; he offers it to a brother of St. Louis, but he dies in the midst of his prospects, even in the city of Naples, which his party had conquered. By the last enterprises of Innocent IV.,

one would think he was a warrior. No such thing. He was counted a profound divine.

1255 — After the death of Conrad IV., the last emperor, though not the last prince, of the house of Suabia, it was probable that young William of Holland, who began to reign in Germany, without opposition, would raise a new imperial house. That feudal right which has produced so many disputes and so many wars, induces him to arm against the Frieslanders. It was pretended that they were vassals of the counts of Holland and under-vassals of the empire. He marches against them and is slain about the latter end of 1255, or beginning of the following year, and this is the era of the great anarchy of Germany.

The same anarchy prevails in Rome, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Guelphs had been expelled from Naples by Mainfroy. The new pope, Alexander IV., though but indifferently established in Rome, resolves, like his predecessor, to wrest Naples and Sicily from the excommunicated house of Suabia, and strip at once young Conradin, to whom the kingdom belonged, and Mainfroy, who was his guardian.

Who could believe that Alexander causes a crusade to be preached in England against Conrad, and that in offering the dominions of the infant to Henry III., king of England, he borrows even in the name of that English king, money enough to raise an army for himself? What conduct is this for a

pontiff to strip an orphan! A legate of the pope commands this army, which is said to have amounted to near fifty thousand men. The pope's army is defeated and despised.

Let us, moreover, observe that Pope Alexander IV., who believed himself strong enough to conquer two kingdoms, though at the gates of Rome, dare not enter, but retires to Viterbo. Rome always resembled those imperial towns which dispute the rights of regality with their archbishops; as Cologne, for example, the municipal government of which is independent of the elector. Rome continued in this precarious situation till the time of Alexander VI.

1256-58 — In Germany it is resolved to make an emperor. The German princes then thought as the Polish palatines of these days. They would not have a king from among their own countrymen. One faction chooses Alphonso X., king of Castile; another elects Richard, brother of Henry III., king of England. These two send severally to the pope, desiring that their election might be confirmed. The pope will confirm neither. Richard meanwhile goes to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he is crowned May 17, 1257, without, however, being more obeyed in Germany on account of that ceremony.

Alphonso of Castile acts as sovereign of Germany at Toledo. Frederick III., duke of Lorraine, goes thither, and receives on his knees the investiture of his duchy, together with the dignity of great

Seneschal of the emperor, on the banks of the Rhine, and the right of laying the first dish on the imperial table in plenary courts.

All the historians of Germany, as the more modern, say that Richard never appeared again in the empire. But this was because they were not acquainted with the "Chronicle of England," written by Thomas Wik. That chronicle gives us to understand that Richard went three times to Germany, where he exercised the rights of emperor on more than one occasion; that in 1263 he gave the investiture of Austria and Styria to one Ottocar, king of Bohemia, and that in 1269 he married the daughter of a baron called Falkemorit, with whom he returned to London. That long interregnum, then so much talked of, did not really exist, although these years may be called an interregnum because Richard was seldom in Germany. In those times we find nothing in Germany but petty wars between petty sovereigns.

1259 — Young Conradin was then educated in Bavaria, with his cousin, the titular duke of Austria, of the old branch of Austria, which is now extinct. Mainfroy, more ambitious than loyal, tired of being regent, causes himself to be proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily.

Thus he furnished the pope with a just handle for seeking his destruction. Alexander IV., as pontiff, had a right to excommunicate a perjured person, and, as lord paramount of Naples, to punish a

usurper. But he had no title, either as pope or paramount, to deprive the young and innocent Conradin of his inheritance.

Mainfroy, who believes himself firmly established, treats the pope's excommunications and enterprises with contempt.

Erzelin, another tyrant, lays waste the countries of Lombardy which adhere to the Guelphs and the pontiffs. At last he is wounded in a battle against the Cremonese, and the earth is delivered from his ravages.

1260-66 — While Germany is either quite desolate, or languishes in anarchy, while Italy is divided into factions, England involved in civil wars, and St. Louis, redeemed from captivity in Egypt, meditates another crusade, which was more unfortunate, if possible, than the first, the holy see still perseveres in the design of wresting Naples and Sicily from Mainfroy, and of stripping at once the guilty guardian and the innocent orphan.

Whatever pope sits on St. Peter's chair, it is still the same genius, and the same medley of greatness and impotence. The Romans will neither acknowledge the temporal authority of the pope, nor be ruled by emperors. The popes are scarce endured in Rome, and yet they bestow and take away kingdoms. Rome at that time chose one senator only, as protector of her liberty. Mainfroy, his son-in-law, Peter of Aragon, and Charles, duke of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, all three caballed for this dig-

nity, which was that of patrician, under another name.

Urban IV., the new pontiff, offers Naples and Sicily to Charles of Anjou, but he does not choose to see him senator, because then he would be too powerful.

He proposes that St. Louis should equip the duke of Anjou with an armament for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. St. Louis hesitates. It was plainly a proposal to rob a ward of an inheritance derived from so many ancestors, who had conquered those dominions from the Mussulmans. The pope quiets his scruples. Charles of Anjou accepts the donation from the pope, and causes himself to be elected senator of Rome in spite of the pope.

Urban IV., being now too far engaged to retract, makes Charles of Anjou promise that he will in five years renounce the title of senator. And as that prince was obliged to take an oath to the Romans for his whole life, the pope reconciles these two oaths, and absolves him of the one, provided he will take the other.

He likewise obliges him to swear in the hands of his legate that he will never possess the empire, together with the crown of Sicily. This was the law of the popes, his predecessors, and this law shows how much they had been afraid of Frederick II.

The count of Anjou, above all things, promises to assist the holy see in recovering the patrimony

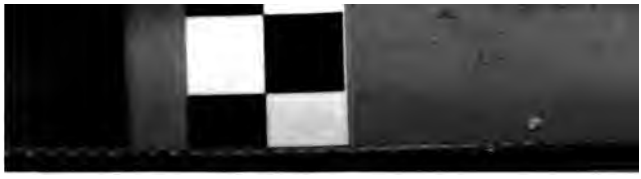
which had been usurped by a number of noblemen, together with the lands of the countess Mathilda. He engages to pay eight thousand ounces of gold as a yearly tribute, consenting to be excommunicated if ever that payment is delayed two months. He swears to abolish all the rights which the French conquerors and the princes of the house of Suabia had enjoyed over ecclesiastics, and in so doing renounces the singular prerogative of Sicily.

On these and a great number of other conditions, he embarks at Marseilles with thirty galleys and goes to Rome in June, 1265, to receive the investiture of Naples and of Sicily, which he had bought so dear.

A battle fought in the plains of Beneventum, February 26, 1266, decides the whole dispute. There Mainfroy is slain, and his wife, children, and treasures fall into the hands of the victor.

The pope's legate, who was in the army, deprives Mainfroy's body of Christian burial, a revenge both cowardly and ill-timed, which served only to irritate the minds of men.

1267-68 — Charles of Anjou no sooner mounts the throne of Sicily than he is dreaded by the pope and hated by his subjects. Conspiracies are formed against him. The Ghibellines, who divided Italy, send to Bavaria to solicit young Conradin to come and take the inheritance of his fathers. Clement IV., the successor of Urban, forbids him to come to



Italy, as a sovereign transmits his order to his subject.

Conradin, at the age of sixteen, sets out with his uncle, the duke of Bavaria, the count of Tyrol, whose daughter he had married, and particularly with his cousin, the young duke of Austria, who was no more master in Austria than Conradin was in Naples. Excommunications are not wanting. Clement IV., that he might oppose him the more effectually, appoints Charles of Anjou imperial vicar in Tuscany. That illustrious province, which had recovered its liberty by its own spirit and courage, was divided into Guelphs and Ghibellines, and by this appointment the Guelphs assumed all the authority.

Charles of Anjou, senator of Rome and chief of Tuscany, becomes still more formidable to the pope. But Conradin would have been more so.

The hearts of all men were inclined to Conradin, and by a very singular destiny the Romans and Mussulmans declared for him at the same time. On one hand, the infant Henry, brother of Alphonso X., king of Castile, a true knight-errant, goes to Italy and there causes himself to be declared senator of Rome, in order to support the rights of Conradin; on the other hand, a king of Tunis lends them money and galleys, and all the Saracens who remained in the kingdom of Naples take arms in his favor.

Conradin is received as emperor in the capital of Rome. His galleys anchor on the coast of Sicily,

and there his troops are joyfully received by almost the whole nation. He marches from one success to another, as far as Aquila in the Abruzzo. The French knights, inured to war, entirely defeat, in a pitched battle, the army of Conradin, composed in a hurry, of different nations.

Conradin, the duke of Austria, and Henry of Castile, are made prisoners.

The historians Villani, Guadelfiero, and Fazelli, affirm that Pope Clement IV. demanded of Charles of Anjou the death of Conradin. It was his last request, and he died soon after. Charles orders the sentence of death to be pronounced on the two princes, by Robert de Bari, his prothonotary. He sends Henry of Castile prisoner to Provence, which belonged to him in right of his wife.

On the twenty-sixth day of October, 1268, Conradin and Frederick of Austria are executed in the market-place of Naples, by the hand of the hangman. This is the first example of such an outrage against crowned heads. Conradin, before he received the stroke, threw his glove among the crowd and begged that somebody would carry it to his cousin, Peter of Aragon, Mainfroy's son-in-law, who would one day avenge his death. The glove was taken up by the chevalier Truchsess de Waldburg, who actually fulfilled his desire. Since that time the house of Waldburg bears the arms of Conradin, which are those of Suabia. The young duke of Austria, being first executed, Conradin, who loved him tenderly,

took up his head, which he was kissing when he received the fatal stroke.

Several noblemen were beheaded on the same scaffold. Some time after, Charles of Anjou ordered Mainfroy's widow and his remaining son to be put to death in prison. What is very surprising, we do not find that St. Louis, who was brother of this Charles of Anjou, ever in the least reproached the barbarian for his horrible cruelty. On the contrary, it was partly in favor of Charles that he undertook his last unfortunate crusade against the king of Tunis, who was Conradin's protector.

1269-72 — The petty wars still continued between the noblemen of Germany. Rudolph, count of Hapsburg, in Switzerland, had already signalized himself in these wars, and especially in that which he had supported against the bishop of Basel, in favor of the abbot of St. Gall. About this time began the treaties of hereditary confraternity between the German houses. This is a mutual deed of the lands of one house to another, in case of survivorship in the male line.

The first of these treaties had been made in the last years of Frederick II., between the houses of Saxony and Hesse.

The Hanse towns, during this period, augment their privileges and power. They establish consuls in all affairs of trade. For to what other tribunal could they at that time have had recourse?

The same necessity which inspired the invention

of consuls in the trading towns, was the occasion of instituting *austrègues* for other towns and noblemen, who had no mind to decide their differences by the sword. These *austrègues* are either from the nobility or from the towns themselves, chosen as umpires to determine without the expense of a lawsuit. These two establishments, so lucky and so wise, were the fruits of the unfortunate times, which obliged people to have recourse to such expedients.

Germany still remained without a chief, but was resolved to have one at last.

Richard of England was dead. Alphonso of Castile has now no party. Ottocar III., king of Bohemia, duke of Austria and Styria, was proposed, and is said to have refused the empire. He was then at war with Bela, king of Hungary, who disputed with him Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He might have contested Styria, which depended on Austria, but not Carinthia and Carniola, which he had actually purchased.

Peace is concluded. Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola remain in the possession of Ottocar. We cannot conceive how he who was so powerful should refuse the empire; he who afterwards refused homage to the emperor. It is much more likely that they would not have him for emperor for that very reason, because he was too powerful.

RUDOLPH I. OF HAPSBURG.

First Emperor of the House of Austria.

TWENTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1273 — At length they assemble at Frankfort to elect an emperor in consequence of letters from Pope Gregory X., who threatens to appoint one. This was a new circumstance, that a pope should be so desirous of having an emperor.

In this assembly they proposed no prince who possessed extensive dominions. They were too jealous of one another. The count of Tyrol, who was of the number of electors, names three persons: A count de Görz, lord of a small country in the Friuli and absolutely unknown; one Bernard, as little known, who had nothing but some pretensions on the duchy of Carinthia; and Rudolph of Hapsburg, a celebrated captain and great marshal of the court of Ottocar, king of Bohemia.

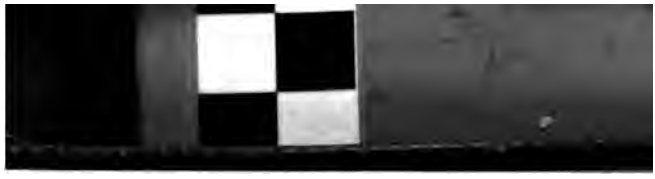
The electors, being divided between these three competitors, refer the affair to the decision of Louis the Severe, count palatine, and duke of Bavaria, the same who had educated and in vain befriended the unhappy Conradin and Frederick of Austria. This is the first example of such an arbitration. Louis of Bavaria names Rudolph of Hapsburg emperor.

The burgrave or constable of Nuremberg carries the news to Rudolph, who, being no longer in the service of the king of Bohemia, was employed in his petty wars about Basel and Strasburg.

Alphonso of Castile and the king of Bohemia in vain protest against this election. This protest of Ottocar is surely no proof of his having refused the imperial crown. Rudolph was the son of Albert, count of Hapsburg, in Switzerland. His mother was Ulrica of Riburg, who had several lordships in Alsace. He had been long ago married to Anne of Heneberg, by whom he had four children. He was turned of fifty-five when he ascended the imperial throne. He had one brother, colonel in the service of the Milanese, and another a canon at Basel, but both died before his election.

He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, though we know not by what archbishop. It is reported that the imperial sceptre, said to be that used by Charlemagne, being missing, this defect of formality began to serve as a pretext to several noblemen who did not choose to take the oath. He seized a crucifix. "This is my sceptre," said he, and all present did him homage. This action of fortitude alone rendered him respectable, and the rest of his conduct showed him worthy of the empire.

He marries his son, Albert, to a daughter of the count of Tyrol, sister-in-law of Conradin. By this marriage Albert seems to acquire the right to Alsace and Suabia, the family inheritance of the famous Emperor Frederick II. Alsace was then divided among several petty lords. It was necessary to make war on them. He, by his prudence, procures the troops of the empire, and subdues the whole by his



valor. A prefect is appointed to govern Alsace. This is one of the most important eras with regard to the interior parts of Germany. The possessors of lands in Suabia and Alsace held of the imperial house of Suabia; but after the extinction of that house in the person of the unfortunate Conradin, they would hold of none but the empire. This is the true origin of the immediate nobility, and this is the reason that a greater number of this nobility is found in Suabia than in all the other provinces.

The Emperor Rudolph succeeds in subduing the gentlemen of Alsace, and creates a prefect in that province, but after him the barons of Alsace became for the most part free and immediate barons, as much sovereigns in their small demesnes as the greatest German noblemen were in their extensive dominions. This, through the greatest part of Europe, was the aim of every person who possessed a castle or country house.

1274 — Three ambassadors of Rudolph take the oath in his name to Pope Gregory X., in the consistory. The pope writes to Rudolph: "By the advice of the cardinals, we appoint you king of the Romans."

Alphonso X., king of Castile, at this time renounces the empire.

1275 — Rudolph visits the pope at Lausanne. He promises to cause the march of Ancona and the lands of Mathilda to be restored. He promises that which he could not perform. All this country was

in the hands of the towns and noblemen, who had seized it at the expense of the pope and the empire. Italy was divided into twenty principalities or republics, like ancient Greece, but more powerful. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, had a greater number of ships than the emperor could maintain of ensigns. Florence became considerable, and was already the nurse of the liberal arts.

Rudolph first of all applied his attention to Germany. Ottocar III., the powerful king of Bohemia, duke of Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola, refused to do him homage. "I owe nothing to Rudolph," said he, "I have paid him his wages. He associates with Bavaria."

Rudolph supports the majesty of his rank. He puts this powerful Ottocar to the ban of the empire, together with Henry, duke of Bavaria, who is leagued with him. The emperor is furnished with troops, and goes to avenge the rights of the German Empire.

1276 — The Emperor Rudolph defeats, one after another, all those who espouse the party of Ottocar, or who attempt to take the least advantage of this division; namely, the count of Neuburg, the count of Freiburg, the marquis of Baden, the count of Würtemberg, and Henry, duke of Bavaria.

He all at once finishes this war with the Bavarians by giving one of his daughters in marriage to that prince's son, and receives forty thousand ounces of gold, instead of giving a portion with his daughter.

Thence he marches against Ottocar, whom he forces to a competition. The king of Bohemia cedes Austria, Styria, and Carniola. He consents to do liege homage to the emperor in the island of Camberg, in the middle of the Danube, under a pavilion close covered, that he might be spared a public mortification.

Ottocar repairs to the place quite covered with gold and jewels. Rudolph, superior in his pride, receives him in the most coarse and simple dress, and in the midst of the ceremony the curtains of the pavilion fall back and expose to the eyes of the people and the armies who lined the banks of the Danube, the haughty Ottocar on his knees, with his hands joined between those of his conqueror, whom he had so often called his steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer. This story is well vouched, though the truth of it is of very little importance.

1277 — The wife of Ottocar, more haughty than her husband, reproaches him so much for the homage he had done and the cession of his provinces, that the king of Bohemia renews the war towards Austria.

The emperor obtains a complete victory August 26, and Ottocar is slain in the battle. The victor uses his fortune like a legislator. He gives Bohemia to young Wenceslaus, the son of the vanquished, and the regency to the marquis of Brandenburg.

1278 — Rudolph makes his entry into Vienna and

establishes himself in Austria. Louis, duke of Bavaria, who had more than one right to that duchy, wants to avail himself of that right. Rudolph falls on him with his victorious troops. Nothing now is able to resist him, and we see this prince, whom the electors had called to reign in the empire, without power, become in effect the conqueror of Germany.

1279 — Though he reigns in Germany, he is far from being master in Italy. Pope Nicholas III. easily gains from him that long process which so many pontiffs had supported against so many emperors. Rudolph, by a deed dated February 15, 1279, cedes to the holy see the lands of the countess Mathilda, renounces the right of paramount, and disavows his chancellor, who had received the homage in the course of this same year. The electors approve of this cession. This prince, in abandoning the rights for which they had fought so long, in effect yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance. This was all he could then obtain in Italy, where the empire was no more. This cession must have been a matter of very little consequence, seeing all he had in exchange was the title of "Senator of Rome," and that for one year only.

The pope at length succeeded in taking this vain title of senator from Charles of Anjou because that prince would not match his nephew with the pontiff's niece, saying: "Although he was called Orsini,

and had red feet, his blood was not made to mingle with the blood of France."

Nicholas III. likewise deprives Charles of Anjou of the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. This vicariat was no more than a name, and indeed this name could not subsist after there was an emperor elected.

The situation of Rudolph in Italy was — according to Girolamo Briani — like that of a merchant when he fails, whose effects are divided among other traders.

1280 — The emperor Rudolph compromises matters with Charles of Sicily by the marriage of one of his daughters. He gives that princess called Clementia to Charles Martel, the grandson of Charles of Anjou. The new-married couple were still infants.

Charles, by means of this marriage, obtains of the emperor the investiture of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier.

After the death of Nicholas III. they choose a Frenchman, called Brion, who takes the name of Martin IV. This Frenchman at first orders the dignity of senator to be restored to the king of Sicily, and is inclined to reinvest him likewise with the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. Rudolph seems to give himself very little concern about the matter; he has business enough of his own in Bohemia. That country had rebelled in consequence of the violent conduct of the margrave of Brandenburg, who was

regent, and, besides, Rudolph had more occasion for money than for titles.

1281-82 — These years are memorable for the famous conspiracy of the Sicilian Vespers. John de Procida, a rich young gentleman of Salerno, who — and, notwithstanding his rank, exercised the professions of physic and the law — was the author of this conspiracy, which seemed so opposite to his way of life. He was a Ghibelline, passionately attached to the memory of Frederick II. and the house of Suabia. He had been several times in Aragon with Queen Constance, the daughter of Mainfroy. He glowed with impatience to avenge the blood which Charles of Anjou had spilt, but finding it impracticable to do anything in the kingdom of Naples, restrained by the presence and dread of Charles, he hatched his scheme in Sicily, which was governed by the Provençals, who were more detested and less powerful than their master.

The project of Charles of Anjou was to conquer Constantinople. The great fruit of the crusades of the West had been to take the empire of the Greeks in 1204, and they had lost it afterwards, together with the rest of the conquests they had made on the Mussulmans. The rage for going to fight in Palestine was abated since the misfortunes of St. Louis; but Constantinople seemed an easy prey, and Charles of Anjou thought to dethrone Michael Palæologus, who then possessed the remains of the eastern empire. John de Procida goes in disguise to Con-

stantinople, to warn Michael Palæologus, and excite him to be beforehand with Charles. Thence he hastens to Aragon where he has a private audience of King Peter. He received money from both these princes. He easily finds people to engage in the conspiracy. Peter of Aragon fits out a fleet on pretence of invading Africa, and keeps himself in readiness to make a descent on Sicily. Procida finds no difficulty in preparing the minds of the Sicilians.

At length, on the third day of Easter, 1282, at the sound of the vesper bell, all the Provençals in the island are massacred, some in churches, some at their doors and in the public streets, and some in their own houses. Eight thousand persons are supposed to have been slaughtered; three, nay four times the number of men have been killed in above a hundred battles, without attracting the notice of mankind. But in this case the secret so long kept by a whole people, the conquerors exterminated by the conquered nation, women and children massacred, daughters of Sicilians with child by Provençals, slain by their own fathers, and penitents murdered by their confessors, render this event forever famous and execrable. It is always said that the persons murdered at those Sicilian Vespers were French, because Provence now belongs to France; but it was then a province of the empire, and the people massacred were really Imperialists.

This is the manner in which the revenge of Conradin and the duke of Austria began. Their death

was occasioned by the guilt of one man—namely, Charles of Anjou; and it was expiated by the murder of eight thousand innocent persons.

Peter of Aragon then lands in Sicily with his wife Constance. The whole nation owns him as sovereign; and from that day Sicily remained with the house of Aragon; but the kingdom of Naples continued with a prince of France.

The emperor gives to his two eldest sons, Albert and Rudolph, at one time the investiture of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, on the twenty-seventh day of December, 1282, in a diet at Augsburg, with the consent of all the noblemen, including that of Louis of Bavaria, who had pretensions to Austria. But how could he at one time give the investiture of the same dominions to these two princes? Had they anything more than the title? Was the youngest to succeed his elder brother? or had the younger anything but the name, while the other enjoyed the lands? or were they to possess those dominions in common? These are circumstances not explained. What is incontestable is, that we find a number of deeds in which the two brothers are named conjunctly dukes of Austria, Styria, and Carniola.

There is only one old anonymous chronicle which says that the emperor Rudolph invested his son Rudolph with Suabia; but there is no document or charter by which it appears that young Rudolph ever possessed Suabia: all the grants call him, as well as his brother, duke of Austria, Styria, and

Carniola: nevertheless, one historian having adopted that chronicle, all the others have followed him; and in the genealogical tables, Rudolph is always called Duke of Suabia. If he really was, how could his family have lost that duchy?

In the same diet the emperor gives Carinthia, and the march Trevisano to his son-in-law, the count of Tyrol. The advantage he reaped from the dignity of emperor was to provide for all the branches of his family.

1283-84 — Rudolph governs the empire as well as his own family. He makes up quarrels between several noblemen and several towns.

Historians say that his labors had weakened him greatly; and that, when he was turned of his grand climacteric, the physicians advised him to take a young wife of fifteen to strengthen his constitution. The historians are bad philosophers. He marries Agnes, daughter of a count of Burgundy.

In this year, 1284, Peter, king of Aragon, takes the prince of Salerno, son of Charles of Anjou, prisoner; but is not able to make himself master of Naples. The wars of Naples no longer concern the empire, until the reign of Charles V.

1285 — The Cumans, a remnant of the Tartars, lay waste Hungary.

The emperor invests John Davennes with the country of Alost, the country of Vass, Zealand, and Hainault. The country of Flanders is not specified

in this investiture; it was become incontestably plain that it held of France.

1286-87 — To crown the glory of Rudolph, he ought to have established himself in Italy, as he was in Germany; but the opportunity was past. He would not even go to be crowned at Rome: he contented himself with selling liberty to those towns of Italy, which chose to purchase it at his hands. Florence paid forty thousand ducats of gold; Lucca twelve thousand; Genoa and Bologna, six thousand. Almost all the other towns gave nothing, pretending they were not bound to acknowledge an emperor who was not crowned at Rome.

But in what did this gift or confirmation of liberty consist? Was it an absolute separation from the empire? There is no act of those times that expresses any such convention. This liberty consisted in the right to appoint magistrates, to govern themselves according to their own municipal laws, to coin money, and maintain troops. It was no more than a confirmation or extension of the rights obtained from Frederick Barbarossa. Italy was then independent, and as it were detached from the empire, because the emperor had little power, and was at a great distance. Time might have secured to this country the full enjoyment of liberty. Already the towns of Lombardy, and even those of Switzerland, had left off taking the oath, and insensibly retrieved their natural right of independency.

With regard to the towns of Germany, they

without exception took the oath; but some were reputed "free," such as Augsburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Metz; others were called "imperial," as they paid tribute; a third sort had the name of "subject," as those who held immediately of the princes, and mediately of the empire; and a fourth obtained the appellation of "mixed," because, though they held of the princes, they enjoyed some imperial rights.

All the great imperial towns were differently governed. Nuremberg was ruled by nobles; in Strasburg the citizens had the authority.

1288-90 — Rudolph makes all his daughters subservient to his interest: he matches a daughter he had by his first wife to young Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, now come of age, and makes him swear he will never make any pretensions to the duchies of Austria and Styria; but, by way of recompense, he confirms him in the office of great cup-bearer.

The dukes of Bavaria pretended to this office of the emperor's house. It seems the quality of elector was inseparable from that of a great officer of the crown; not that the lords of the principal fiefs had relinquished their right of electing, but the great officers insisted on having this right in preference to others. It was for this reason the dukes of Bavaria disputed the office of grand master with the branch of Bavaria Palatine, though this last was the eldest.

A great diet at Erfurt, in which the division already made of Thuringia is confirmed. The east-

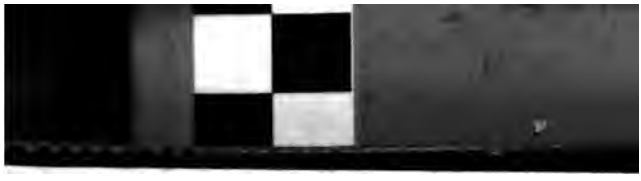
ern continues in the house of Meissen, which is now that of Saxony; the western remains with the house of Brabant, which was heir of Meissen by the female line. This is the present house of Hesse.

Ladislaus III., king of Hungary, having been slain by the Cuman-Tartars, who still ravaged that country, the emperor, who pretends that Hungary is a fief of the empire, resolves to bestow that fief on his son Albert, to whom he had already given Austria.

Pope Nicholas IV., who thinks that all kingdoms are fiefs of Rome, gives Hungary to Charles Martel, grandson of Charles Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily; but as this Charles Martel is the emperor's son-in-law, and as the Hungarians will not receive the emperor's son as their king, for fear of being enslaved, Rudolph consents that his son-in-law, Charles Martel, shall endeavor to obtain that crown of which he could not deprive him.

This is another great example of the uncertainty of the feudal right. The county of Burgundy, that is Franche-Comté, pretended to hold of the kingdom of France, and in that quality had taken the oath of allegiance to Philip the Fair. Nevertheless, before that period, all that made part of the old kingdom of Burgundy held of the emperors.

Rudolph makes war on him, but this is soon terminated by the count's doing the homage he demanded; so that this count of Burgundy at one time held both of the empire and of France.



Rudolph confers the title of Palatine of Saxony on his son-in-law, Albert II., duke of Saxony. We must take care to distinguish that house of Saxony from the present, which, as we have said, is from the house of Meissen.

1291 — The emperor Rudolph dies at Germersheim July 15, in the seventy-third year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his reign.

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU.

TWENTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

(After an Interregnum of Nine Months.)

1292 — The German princes, afraid of rendering hereditary that empire of Germany which was always called the Roman Empire, and not agreeing in their choice, make a second compromise, of which we have seen an example in the nomination of Rudolph. The archbishop of Mentz, to whom it was referred, names Adolphus on the same principle as that on which they had chosen his predecessor. He was the most illustrious warrior and the poorest of that time. He seemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of the German armies, without being powerful enough to enslave it. He possessed but three lordships in the county of Nassau.

Albert, duke of Austria, disgusted because he did not succeed his father, joins against the new emperor with that same count of Burgundy who

would be no longer a vassal of Germany, and these two obtain succor from Philip the Fair, king of France. The house of Austria begins by inviting against the emperor those very French whom the princes of the empire have since so often invited against her. Albert of Austria, with the assistance of France, at first makes war in Switzerland, the sovereignty of which was claimed by his house. He takes Zurich with the French troops.

1293 — Albert of Austria excites Strasburg and Colmar to rebel against Adolphus. The emperor at the head of some troops, furnished by the imperial fiefs, appeases these troubles. A difference between the count of Flanders and the citizens of Ghent is carried before the parliament of Paris, and decided in favor of the citizens. It was very clearly acknowledged that from Ghent to Boulogne, Arras and Cambray, Flanders held solely of the king of France.

1294 — Adolphus unites with Edward, king of England, against France; but as he dreaded such a powerful vassal as the duke of Austria, he undertakes nothing. We have seen this alliance more than once renewed in the like circumstances.

1295 — A shameful piece of injustice in the emperor is the first origin of his misfortunes and fatal end. A great example to sovereigns. Albert of Meissen, landgrave of Thuringia, one of the ancestors of all the princes of Saxony, who made such a great figure in Germany, son-in-law of the

emperor Frederick II., had three children by the princess, his wife. He had repudiated her for a mistress unworthy of him, and for that reason the Germans had justly bestowed upon him the surname Depraved. Having a bastard by that concubine, he resolved to disinherit his three legitimate children in his favor. He set up his fiefs for sale in spite of the laws, and the emperor in spite of the laws purchases them with the money he has received from the king of England to make war on France.

The three princes boldly maintain their rights against the emperor. In vain does he take Dresden and several castles; he is driven from Meissen, and all Germany declares against such scandalous proceedings.

1296 — The rupture between the emperor and the king of England on one side and France on the other, still continued. Pope Boniface VIII. orders all three to agree to a truce on pain of excommunication.

1297 — The emperor had more need of a truce with the noblemen of the empire; for all of them resented his conduct. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, Albert, duke of Austria, the duke of Saxony, and the archbishop of Mentz assemble at Prague. There were two marquises of Brandenburg; not that both possessed the same marquisate, but being brothers both took the same title. This practice began to be customary. The emperor is formally impeached and a diet summoned to meet at Eger to depose him.

Albert of Austria sends to Rome to solicit the deposition of Adolphus. This is a right which was always allowed to the pope, when it was thought it could turn to advantage. The duke of Austria pretends to have received the pope's consent, which, however, he had not obtained. The archbishop of Mentz solemnly deposes the emperor in the name of all the princes. These are the terms in which he expressed himself: "We are told our envoys have obtained the pope's consent; others affirm the pope has refused it: but without regarding any other authority than that with which we have been invested, we depose Adolphus from the imperial dignity, and elect Lord Albert, duke of Austria, for king of the Romans."

1298 — Boniface VIII. forbids the electors, on pain of excommunication, to consecrate the new king of the Romans, and they answer that it is by no means an affair of religion.

Meanwhile Adolphus, having some bishops and noblemen in his party, was still at the head of an army. On the second day of July he gives battle to his rival near Spires; the two meet in the middle of the engagement. Albert of Austria thrusts a sword into his eye. Adolphus dies fighting and leaves the empire to Albert.

ALBERT I. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTIETH EMPEROR.

1298 — Albert of Austria begins by referring his right to the electors, the better to secure it. He is the second time elected at Frankfort, then crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne.

Pope Boniface VIII. will not acknowledge him. This pope had at that time violent quarrels with Philip the Fair of France.

1299 — The emperor Albert forthwith unites himself to Philip, and marries his eldest son, Rudolph, to Blanche, that king's sister. The articles of this marriage are remarkable. He engages to give to his son Austria, Styria, Carniola, Alsace, and Freiburg in the Breisgau, and assigns Alsace and Freiburg as a jointure to his daughter-in-law, referring himself for the portion of Blanche entirely to the good-will of the king of France.

Albert sends an intimation of this marriage to the pope, who makes no other answer but that the emperor is a usurper, and that there is no other Cæsar but the sovereign pontiff of the Christians.

1300-01 — The houses of France and Austria seemed at that time closely united by this marriage, by their common hatred of Boniface VIII., and by the necessity they were under to defend themselves against their vassals; for at the same time Holland and Zealand, which were vassals of the empire, made

war upon Albert, and the Flemings, who were vassals of France, had taken arms against Philip the Fair.

Boniface VIII. who was still prouder than Gregory VII., and more impetuous, takes this opportunity to brave at once the emperor and the king of France. On one side he excites against Philip the Fair, his own brother, Charles of Valois; on the other hand he foments a revolt of the princes of Germany against Albert.

No pope ever pushed farther the madness of giving away kingdoms. He invites Charles of Valois into Italy, and appoints him vicar of the empire in Tuscany. He makes a match between that prince and the daughter of Baldwin II., the deposed monarch of Constantinople, and boldly declares Charles of Valois emperor of the Greeks. Nothing is greater than such enterprises when they are well conducted and successful; and nothing more mean when they are ineffectual. This pope, in less than three years, gave away the empires of the East and West, and laid the kingdom of France under interdiction.

The circumstances in which Germany was involved had well-nigh insured his success against Albert of Austria. He writes to the archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne: "We command Albert to appear before us in six months, to clear himself if he can of the crime of treason committed against his sovereign, Adolphus. We forbid you to acknowledge him as king of the Romans," etc.

Those three archbishops, who did not love Albert, agree with the count palatine of the Rhine to proceed against him, as they had proceeded against his predecessor; and what shows that there were always two weights and two measures, they accuse him of being guilty of a crime in having defeated and slain in battle that very Adolphus whom they had deposed and against whom he had been armed by their own consent and direction.

The count palatine actually lays information against the emperor Albert. It is well known that the counts palatine were originally judges in the palace, and judges in civil causes between the prince and subject, as is the practice in all countries under different denominations.

The palatines thought they had a right to judge the emperor himself in criminal cases. And it is upon this pretension that we shall see a palatine and a ban of Croatia condemn a queen.

Albert, having the other princes of the empire on his side, answers these proceedings with war.

1302 — The judges in a very little time ask pardon, and the elector palatine is fain to pay a large sum of money for his proceedings.

Poland, after a series of troubles, elects for its king Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia. This prince establishes some sort of order in a country where there was never any before. It was he who instituted the senate. This Wenceslaus gives his son as king to the Hungarians, who demanded himself.

Boniface VIII. fails not to pretend that this
an outrage against him, who alone has the right
give Hungary a king. He appoints to that static
Charles Robert, a descendant of Charles of Anjo
One would think the emperor ought not to ha
accustomed the pope to give away kingdoms; y
this is what effected his reconciliation with him. H
was more afraid of the power of Wenceslaus than
the pope. He therefore protects Charles Robert, ar
lays Bohemia waste. Authors say his army was po
soned by the Bohemians, who infected the water i
the neighborhood of the camp. But this is not a ver
credible circumstance.

1303 — What effectually engages the emperor i
the interest of Boniface VIII. is the bloody quarr
between that pope and Philip the Fair. Bonifac
being maltreated by Philip, and that very deservedl
at length acknowledges Albert, whom he persecute
as lawful king of the Romans, and promises him th
imperial crown, provided he would declare wa
against the king of France.

Albert repays the pope's complaisance with a sti
greater piece of condescension. He acknowledge
"that the empire was transferred from the Greek
to the Germans by the holy see; that the electo
hold their right of the pope, and that emperors an
kings receive from him the regal power." It wa
against such a declaration as this that the cour
palatine ought to have proceeded.

It was not worth the trouble thus to flatter Bon

face VIII., who died October 12, after he had with difficulty escaped from the prison in which he was detained by the king of France, at the very gates of Rome.

Meanwhile the king of France confiscates Flanders from Count Gui de Dampierre, and after a bloody battle remains master of Lille, Douay, Orchies, Bethune and a very extensive country, without the emperor's giving himself any trouble about the matter.

He no longer thinks of Italy, still divided between the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

1304-5 — Ladislaus, that son of the respectable Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia and Poland, is expelled from Hungary. His father — as it is pretended — died of grief for his expulsion, if kings can actually die of that distemper.

Otho, duke of Bavaria, causes himself to be elected king of Hungary, and is sent back again the very same year. Ladislaus returns to Bohemia, where he is assassinated. Thus we see three elective kingdoms vacant at once, namely Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

The emperor Albert causes his son Rudolph to be crowned in Bohemia by dint of arms. Charles Robert still supports his pretensions to Hungary, and a Polish nobleman, called Wladislaus Loctitus, is elected, or rather re-established, in Poland; but the emperor has no share in the transaction.

1306 — Here follows a piece of injustice which

one would not expect from a prince of ability. The emperor Adolphus of Nassau had lost his crown and life in consequence of having incurred the hatred of the Germans, and this hatred was chiefly founded on his attempt to strip the lawful heirs of Meissen and Thuringia for a sum of money.

Philip of Nassau, brother of this emperor, reclaimed the countries which had been so unjustly purchased. Albert declares for him, in hope of obtaining a share. The princes of Thuringia defend themselves, and are without ceremony put to the ban of the empire. This proscription furnishes them with partisans and an army. They cut in pieces the army of the emperor, who is glad to leave them in peaceable possession of their domains. We generally find in the Germans a strong fund of attachments to their rights; and by this alone that mixed government has so long existed; an edifice often on the brink of tumbling, yet still firm and well founded.

1307 — Pope Clement V. sends a legate to Hungary to give the crown to Charles Robert in the name of the holy see. Formerly this kingdom was in the gift of the emperors, but at this time the popes disposed of it, as well as of Naples. The Hungarians chose to be vassals to the unarmed popes, rather than of the emperors, who might enslave them. But it would have been still better to be vassals to no power whatsoever.

Switzerland held of the empire, and part of that country belonged to the house of Austria, as Frei-

burg, Lucerne, Zug, and Glarus. These small towns, although subjects, had great privileges, and were ranked with the mixed towns of the empire; others were imperial, and governed by their own citizens, such as Zurich, Basel and Schaffhausen. The cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden were under the patronage, but not under the dominion, of the house of Austria.

The emperor Albert wanted to be despotic through the whole country. The governors and commissaries whom he sent thither exercised a species of tyranny which at first produced abundance of misery, but in the end was productive of the blessing of liberty.

The founders of that liberty were called Melchthal, Stauffacher, and Walter Fürst. The difficulty of pronouncing such respectable names has in some measure injured their fame. These three peasants, being men of sense and resolution, were the first conspirators; each of them engaged three others; and those nine brought over the cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden.

All the historians allege that while they were concerting the conspiracy, a governor of Uri, whose name was Gessler, took it in his head to exercise a kind of tyranny equally horrible and ridiculous. He commanded, say they, one of his caps to be placed on the top of a pole erected in the market-place, and decreed that every person should bow to the cap, on pain of death. One of the conspirators, called Will-

iam Tell, would not salute the cap. The governor condemned him to be hanged, and would not pardon him except on condition that the convict, who was esteemed an expert archer, should bring down with an arrow an apple placed on the head of his own son. The father shot in the utmost trepidation, and was so lucky as to hit the apple. Gessler, perceiving another arrow under Tell's coat, asked what he intended to do with it. "It was intended for thee," said the Swiss, "had I wounded my son."

The story of the apple is, I own, very suspicious, and what follows is no less doubtful. But, in short, it is generally believed that Tell, being put in irons, afterwards killed the governor with an arrow; that this was the signal for the conspirators, and that the people seized the fortresses and demolished those instruments of their slavery.

1308 — Albert, being on the eve of venturing his forces against that courage inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, loses his life in a melancholy manner. His own nephew, John, improperly called duke of Suabia, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, conspires his death with the help of some accomplices. He himself gives the emperor the fatal stab, while he was walking with him near Windisch, on the banks of the river Reuss, in the canton of Aargau, Switzerland. Few sovereigns have died a more tragical death, and none was ever less regretted. In all probability the deed by which Austria, Styria, and Car-

niola were conveyed by the emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg to his two sons was the cause of this association. John, son of Prince Rudolph, having in vain demanded his share, which was detained by his uncle, Albert, resolved to obtain possession by committing the crime of high treason.

HENRY VII.

Of the House of Luxemburg.

THIRTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

1308 — After the murder of Albert, the throne of Germany continued vacant for seven months. Among the pretenders to this throne, we reckon Philip the Fair, king of France; but there is no monument of the history of France that makes the least mention of this circumstance.

Charles de Valois, that monarch's brother, enters the lists of competition. He was a prince who went everywhere in quest of kingdoms. He had received the crown of Aragon from the hands of Pope Martin IV., and done him homage, and taken the oath of fidelity which the popes exact from the kings of Aragon; but all he had was a vain title. Boniface VIII. had promised to make him king of the Romans, but could not keep his word.

Bertrand of Got, a Gascon, archbishop of Bordeaux, being raised to the pontificate of Rome by the protection of Philip the Fair, promises the imperial crown to that prince. The popes could do

a great deal at this period, in spite of their impotence, because their refusing to acknowledge a king of the Romans elected in Germany was often a pretext for factions and civil war.

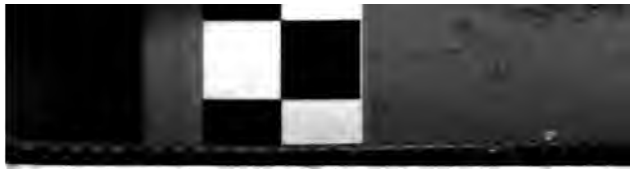
This pope, Clement V., acts in diametrical opposition to his promise. He underhand presses the electors to choose Henry count of Luxemburg.

That prince is the first who was chosen by six electors only, all the six great officers of the crown; the archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne, as chancellors; the count palatine, of the present house of Bavaria, as grand master of the household; the duke of Saxony, of the house of Ascania, as great master of the horse, and the marquis of Brandenburg, of the same house of Ascania, as great chamberlain.

The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was not present, nor did any person represent him by proxy. The kingdom of Bohemia was then vacant; for the Bohemians would not acknowledge the duke of Carinthia, whom they had elected, but made war upon him as a tyrant.

It was the count palatine who, in the name of the six electors, nominated "Henry, count of Luxemburg, king of the Romans, future emperor, protector of the Roman Catholic Church, and defender of widows and orphans."

1309 — Henry VII. begins by avenging the assassination of the emperor Albert. He puts the murderer, John, the pretended duke of Suabia, to the



ban of the empire. Frederick and Leopold of Austria, his cousins, descended like him from Rudolph of Hapsburg, execute the sentence, and receive the investiture of his domains.

One of the assassins, called Rudolph of Warth, a considerable nobleman, is taken, and with him begins the custom of breaking on the wheel. As for John, after having wandered a long time from place to place, he obtains the pope's absolution, and turns monk.

The emperor confers upon his son the title of duke of Luxemburg, without, however, erecting Luxemburg into a duchy. There were dukes by brevet, as we now see them in France, but they were all princes. We have already seen that the emperors created kings by brevet.

The emperor, with a view to establish his family, causes his son, John of Luxemburg, to be elected king of Bohemia. There was a necessity of conquering it from the duke of Carinthia, and this was no difficult task, as the whole nation was against the said duke.

All the Jews are expelled from Germany, and a great part of them stripped of their effects. That people, devoted to usury ever since it had been known, having always exercised that profession at Babylon, Alexandria, Rome, and through all Europe, had everywhere rendered themselves equally necessary and execrable. There was scarce a town in which the Jews were not accused of sacrificing a

child on Friday, and stabbing the host. Processions are still made in several towns, in remembrance of the hosts which have have been stabbed and shed blood. These ridiculous impeachments served as pretexts to strip them of their wealth.

1310 — The order of Templars is treated more cruelly than the Jews. This is one of the most incomprehensible events. Knights who made a vow to fight for Jesus Christ are accused of renouncing him, adoring a copper head, and of committing the most horrible debauches by way of secret ceremonies at their reception into the order. In France they are condemned to the stake, in consequence of a bull of Pope Clement V., and of their great possessions. Molai Gui, brother of the dauphin d'Auvergne, great master of the order, and seventy-four knights, in vain make oath that the order is innocent of the charge. Philip the Fair, incensed against them, causes them to be found guilty; they are condemned by the pope, who is devoted to the king of France, and fifty-nine are burned in Paris. They are persecuted everywhere. Two years after this event the pope abolishes the order; but in Germany nothing is done to their prejudice; perhaps because they were too much persecuted in France. In all probability the debauchery of some young knights had given occasion to calumniate the whole order.

Henry VII. resolves to re-establish the empire in Italy.

No emperor had been there since Frederick II.

A diet is held at Frankfort, in order to establish John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, vicar of the empire, and to provide for the emperor's journey. This journey is well known by the name of "the Roman expedition." Every state of the empire contributes a certain sum to furnish soldiers, horsemen or money.

The emperor's commissaries, by whom he is preceded, take the usual oath to the pope's commissaries at Lausanne, on the 11th of October. An oath was always considered by the popes as an act of homage and obedience, and by the emperors as a promise of protection; but the words of it were favorable to the pretensions of the popes.

1311 — Italy is still divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. But these factions had no longer the same aim as heretofore; they no longer fought for the emperor or pope. It was a word of reproach, to which there was no precise idea affixed. We have seen an example of the same kind in the factions of the whigs and tories of England.

Pope Clement V. fled from Rome, where he had no power, and settled his court at Lyons, with his mistress, the countess of Perigord, where he amassed money to the utmost of his power.

Rome was in the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Orsini, and the Roman barons divide the city, and this division is the cause of the long abode of the popes upon the banks of the

Rhone; so that Rome seemed equally lost to the popes and the emperors.

Sicily remains with the house of Aragon. Charles Robert, king of Hungary, disputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, son of Charles II. of the house of Anjou.

The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara, and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country.

The old league of the Italian towns was far from subsisting. It had been made with no other view but to oppose the emperors. But since these had left off coming to Italy, the towns were wholly employed in aggrandizing themselves at the expense of one another. The Florentines and Genoese made war upon the republic of Pisa. Besides, every town was divided into factions within itself: Florence between the blacks and the whites, and Milan between the adherents of Visconti and the Turriani.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Henry VII. at length appears in Italy. He caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy in Milan. The Guelphs conceal the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a small iron circle. The emperor orders a new crown to be made.

The Turriani and the emperor's own chancellor conspire against his life in Milan. He condemns his chancellor to the flames. Most of the towns of Lombardy, such as Crema, Cremona, Lodi, and Bres-

cia, refuse to obey him. He subdues them by force, and there is abundance of blood shed.

He marches to Rome. Robert, king of Naples, in concert with the pope, shuts the gates against him, ordering his brother, John, the prince of Morea, to march towards Rome with the men of arms and the infantry.

Several towns, namely Florence, Bologna, and Lucca, privately associate with Robert. In the meantime the pope writes from Lyons to the emperor that he wishes for nothing so much as his coronation; and the king of Naples makes the same profession, assuring him that the prince of Morea is at Rome for no other purpose than to establish order in the city. Henry VII. presents himself at the gate of the city Leonini, which contains the church of St. Peter, but he is obliged to besiege it before he can enter. He is defeated, instead of being crowned. He negotiates with another part of the city, and desires he may be crowned in the church of St. John of Lateran. The cardinals oppose his demand, saying it cannot be done without the permission of the pope.

The people of that district espouse the emperor's cause, and he is crowned in a tumult by some cardinals. Then he orders the lawyers to discuss the question: "Whether or not the pope can command the emperor in any case? and whether the kingdom of Naples holds of the empire or of the holy see?" His lawyers fail not to decide in his favor, and the

pope takes care to have a contrary decision by the lawyers of his own party.

1313 — We have already seen that it is the destiny of the emperors to want force sufficient to maintain their dominion in Rome. Henry VII. is obliged to quit that city. He in vain besieges Florence, and as vainly summons Robert, king of Naples, to appear before him; and no less vainly does he put that king to the ban of the empire as a person guilty of treason: "Banishing him forever on pain of losing his head." This decree is dated April 25.

He issues decrees of the same nature against Florence and Lucca, permitting the inhabitants to be murdered. Wenceslaus, in his madness, would not have published such rescripts. He orders his brother, the archbishop of Trier, to levy troops in Germany. He obtains fifty galleys from the Genoese and the Pisans. There is a conspiracy at Naples in his favor. He entertains the notion of conquering Naples and afterwards Rome; but when ready to depart he dies near the town of Sienna.

The decree against the Florentines was an invitation to take him off by poison. A Dominican, called Politian de Montepulciano, who gave him the sacrament, is said to have mixed poison in the consecrated wine. It is difficult to prove such crimes. But the Dominicans did not obtain of his son John, king of Bohemia, letters patent declaring their innocence until thirty years after the emperor's death. It would have been more prudent to have obtained

those letters at the very time when people began to accuse them of this sacrilegious murder. Here follows an interregnum of fourteen months.

In the last years of Henry VII. the Teutonic order aggrandized itself, and made conquests upon the idolaters and Christians who inhabited the coast of the Baltic. They even made themselves masters of Dantzic, which they afterwards gave up. They purchased the country of Prussia, called Pomerania, from a margrave of Brandenburg, in whose possession it was. While the Teutonic knights became conquerors, the Templars were destroyed in Germany, as in other countries; and though they supported themselves some years longer towards the Rhine, their order was at last entirely abolished.

1314 — Pope Clement V. condemns the memory of Henry VII., and declares the oath which that emperor had taken at his coronation to be an oath of fidelity, consequently the act of a vassal doing homage.

He dissolves the sentence which Henry VII. had pronounced against the king of Naples, "Because," says he justly, "King Robert is our vassal."

But the pope adds very astonishing clauses to this reason: "We have," said he, "the superiority of the empire, and we succeed to the emperor during a vacancy, by the full power we have received from Jesus Christ."

By virtue of that pretension the pope created Robert, king of Naples, vicar of the empire in Italy.

Thus the popes, who feared nothing so much as an emperor, were themselves aiding and assisting in perpetuating that dignity, by acknowledging that a vicar was wanted during an interregnum. But they nominated this vicar in order to vest themselves with the right of appointing an emperor.

The electors are long divided in Germany. It was already an established opinion that the right of voting belonged solely to the great officers of the household, namely the three ecclesiastical chancellors and the four secular princes. These officers had long possessed the chief influence. They declared the nomination by the majority of votes, and gradually arrogated to themselves the sole right of electing

This is so true that Henry, duke of Carinthia, who assumed the title of King of Bohemia, disputed, in that quality alone, the right of elector with John of Luxemburg, son of Henry VII., who was in effect king of Bohemia.

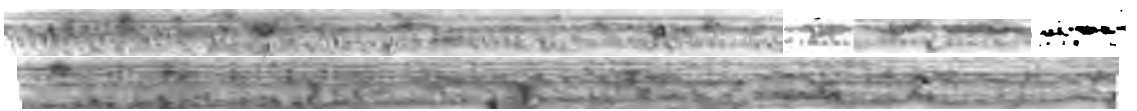
John and Rudolph, dukes of Saxony, who had each a part of that province, pretended to share the rights of elector, and even to be both electors, because both took the appellation of grand-marshal.

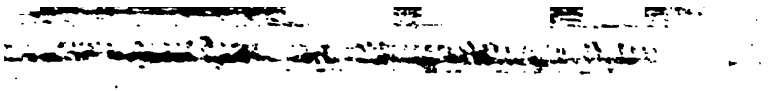
Louis, duke of Bavaria, the same that was emperor, head of the Bavarian branch, wanted to share the right of voting with his eldest brother, Rudolph, count palatine.

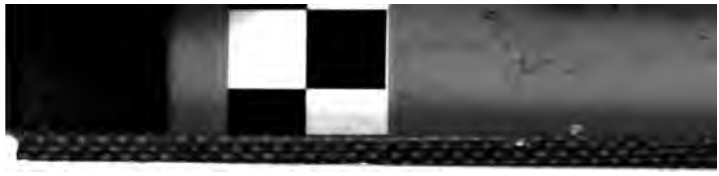
In that case, there would have been ten electors, who represented seven officers holding the seven

principal posts of the empire. Of these ten electors, five, named Louis, duke of Bavaria, who, adding his own vcte, is thus elected by a majority of one.

The other four chose Frederick, duke of Austria, son of the emperor Albert, and this duke of Austria did not reckon his own vote; an evident proof that Austria, as it did not furnish a great officer, had no right of voting.







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